

Special Issue: The Democrats

# TIME





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TO SAY?



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On the cover: Photograph for TIME by Platon

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# RIVERSIDE TOYOTA BRINGS JOY TO DISPLACED FAMILIES DURING THE HOLIDAYS.

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Riverside Toyota's staff, including owner John Welborn (right), General Sales Manager Sue Barrentine (back left), General Manager Skip Welborn and Used Car Manager Todd Britt, provides gifts to Hospitality House for Women, Inc., headed by Amy Weaver (front).

The hope and happiness associated with Christmas can be especially fleeting when home for the holidays is an emergency shelter. Children fear Santa won't be able to find them, and mothers wonder when life will return to something close to normal. That's why Amy Weaver of Hospitality House for Women, Inc., in Rome, Ga., is thankful for Riverside Toyota owner John Welborn and his dealership team.

"They are a godsend for our Christmas gift program," says Weaver, the shelter's Executive Director. "They are committed to helping us every year. We can count on them to adopt the bigger families, and they always remember to include special gifts from the moms' wish lists."

A nonprofit agency that assists women and children dealing with domestic violence, the shelter has 27 beds that stay filled, and Weaver's staff networks with other shelters to help ensure that no one is turned away. Hospitality House also offers legal advocacy services, helps with financial concerns, speaks to the courts for clients, and aids families in re-entering the housing and school systems.

"Our goal is to spread holiday joy to families who might not have anything otherwise," says Welborn. "This gives our employees the opportunity to shop specifically for gifts the families want, and that gives everyone a good feeling."

## RIVERSIDE TOYOTA

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# 10 Questions. Her *Twilight* vampire saga ends with the new *Breaking Dawn*. **Stephenie Meyer** will now take your questions

You came up with the story for your first book, *Twilight*, in a dream. From there, how did you come up with the characters?

*Theresa Kolberg, PHOENIX*  
I think you only get one dream like that in a lifetime, and it was all I needed. Once I unlocked the door, there were a lot of stories waiting to get out. Apparently, there are enough people in my head to supply me for a while.

**What do you think makes your writing attract the attention that it gets?**

*Ashlie Meyer*

*CINCINNATI, OHIO*

All I can guess is that when I write, I forget that it's not real. I'm living the story, and I think people can read that sincerity about the characters. They are real to me while I'm writing them, and I think that makes them real to the readers as well.

**How do you feel about being compared to J.K. Rowling?**

*David Sobalvarro*

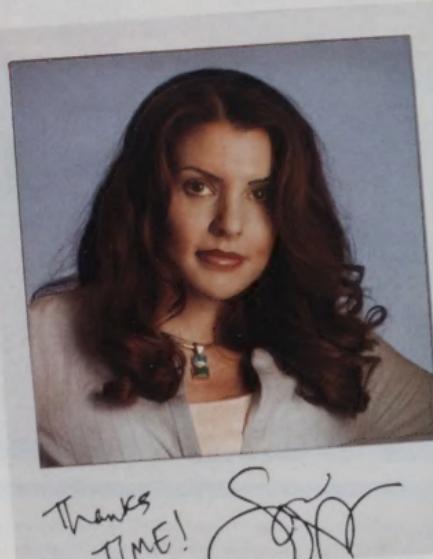
*WASHINGTON*

It's mixed. On one hand, it's really flattering. I'm a huge fan. On the other hand, there is a bit of backlash because then people say, "Who does she think she is?" And then I feel bad, like I'm the one going around and saying this, which I'm not. I don't enjoy that side of it.

**How do you write in a way that attracts readers of all ages?**

*Pamela Dorn, CHICAGO*

I didn't write these books specifically for the young-adult audience. I wrote them for me. I don't know why they span the ages so well, but I find it comforting that a lot of thirty-



things with kids, like myself, respond to them as well—so I know that it's not just that I'm a 15-year-old on the inside!

**Throughout the *Twilight* saga, there are many different kinds of love between the characters—romantic, paternal, etc. Do you have a message about love that you want the reader to walk away with?**

*Marissa Parisi*  
*BURLINGTON, VT.*

I never write messages. I always write things that entertain me, and one of the things that I find really enjoyable to explore is the idea of love. I like looking at my own life and my friends and family and how love changes who you are. It fascinates me.

**Music is obviously a huge creative influence on you. Has music always been a part of your life?**

*Karen Medley, SEATTLE*  
Actually, growing up, I didn't listen to a ton. My parents were pretty strict. I only discovered music as an inspiration later in life.

**Aside from Mitt Romney, you seem to be the most popular Mormon right now in the U.S. Do you feel that you are a good representative of your religion?**

*Mary-Jean Corriss*  
*CENTRAL ISLIP, N.Y.*

Being Mormon is a big part of who I am, and I try very hard to live the right way, but I don't know that I'm an example. I hate to say, "Yes, look at me. I'm a good example of

being Mormon." I want to be the best person I can be, so in that aspect, maybe I'm a good example.

**What kind of research on vampires, if any, did you do before writing *Twilight*?**

*Jen Potcher, BOISE, IDAHO*

The only time I really did any research on vampires was when the character Bella did research on vampires. Because I was creating my own world, I didn't want to find out just how many rules I was breaking.

**What advice do you have for other women raising families at home who want to branch out and achieve something like you have done?**

*Jocelyn Gibbons*  
*ALEXANDRIA, VA.*

Go for it! I didn't plan to start a new career when I did this, and it took a lot of courage to send out those query letters. I sent 15, and I got nine rejection letters, five no responses and one person who wanted to see me. If it's something you enjoy, put the determination and will behind it and see what happens.

**If you were a vampire, what would your special power be?**

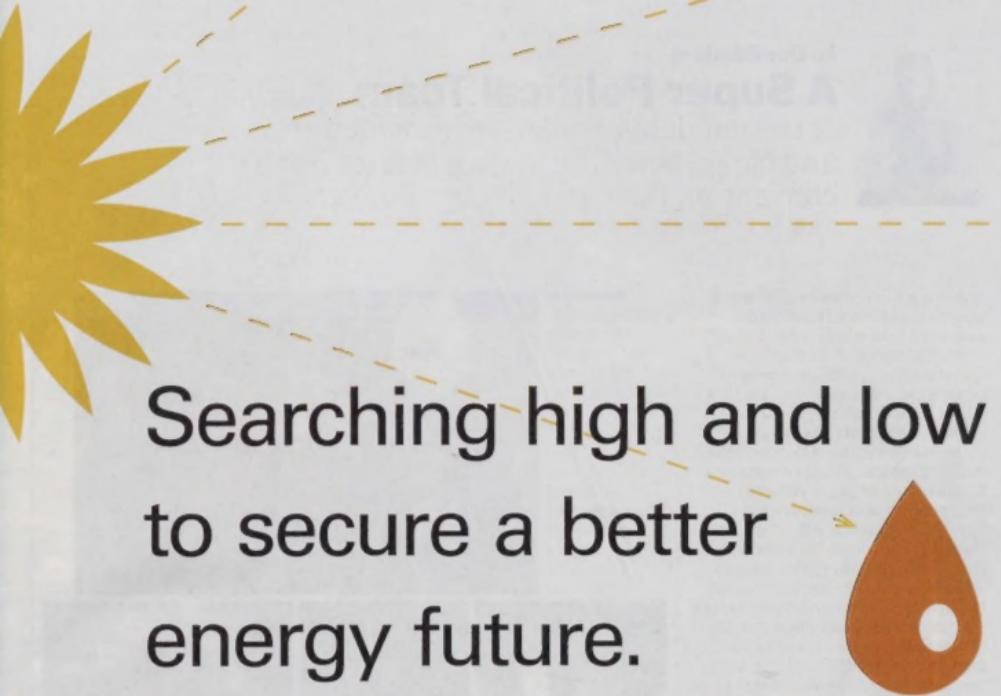
*Melanie Konstantinou*  
*TRENTON, N.J.*

I have a hard time imagining that I would have one. I think I would just be happy with not having to sleep and not aging. That would be kind of cool. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Stephenie Meyer and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)



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To Our Readers

# A Super Political Team.

Our correspondents, writers, commentators and bloggers will be at your service on the convention floor and all over Denver

**IN A DEMOCRACY, WHAT A CANDIDATE** says is less important than how the voter hears it; how a candidate defines himself is less important than how the voter perceives him. In our special Democratic Convention issue, David Von Drehle has written the seminal piece on the five different ways that voters see Barack Obama. More than any other modern candidate, Obama is a one-man Rorschach test telling us about our own perceptions, biases, hopes and fears. David's five categories—the Black Man, the Healer, the Novice, the Radical, the Future—describe the prisms through which we see the Democratic nominee.

David and Karen Tumulty (our national political correspondent, who is covering Obama and wrote the piece about the candidate's inner circle) caught up with the Senator recently for an interview in the weight room at Rio Grande High School in Albuquerque, N.M. He was fighting off a cold that he lightheartedly blamed on the fact that he had finally had some time with his daughters and their cousins in Hawaii.

Our chief political columnist, Joe Klein, went to see Obama at a town hall in North Carolina and talks about what he calls the candidate's "passion gap." Senior editor Amy Sullivan was in South Carolina to profile an African-American first-time delegate who learned about Obama from his book. This week we debut the column of political consultant Mike Murphy, who wrote about Obama's struggles with working-class voters. You'll be able to find Mike's smart commentary on *Swampland*, our must-read politics blog. We're also featuring a column by Gwen Ifill, senior correspondent for the *NewsHour* on PBS, on the young black leaders whom Obama has inspired. Gwen, who will be moderating the vice-presidential debate in October, is writing a book on politics and race in the age of Obama. And on top of all that, we have six pages of behind-the-scenes pictures of Obama from Callie Shell—and on this page, a campaign first: Barack Obama's own photographic credit, for a picture he took of Callie. The Senator should keep his day job.

Our entire political team will be cover-

**Weighing in**  
Obama, far right,  
with Tumulty  
and Von Drehle  
at Rio Grande  
High School



**Smart and witty** New columnist Murphy, below, on the working class



**24/7 guy**

Halperin, above,  
will be taping from  
all around Denver

**Inspiration** Ifill, above,  
writes on the new young  
black leaders

**Senator with a camera** Obama,  
above, snaps our  
photographer  
Shell, right

ing the Democratic Convention 24/7 on TIME.com, the *Page* and *Swampland*, with reporting, video, commentary and breaking news. (You'll also hear about the best soirees from our special party correspondent, Joel Stein.) Mark Halperin, who himself is 24/7, will be taping his daily *PageCasts* all around Denver with special guests. Convention insiders will be able to take a shortcut to the *Page* for the week—and you can too, by downloading the *Page* icon to your BlackBerry. Plus,

there is a new daily text-only version of the *Page* newsletter. Finally, Gwen's piece and Jay Newton-Small's "Hotshots to Watch" are the inspiration for a panel we're convening in Denver on the next generation of Democratic leaders.

*Rick*  
Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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# Inbox



## Postmodern Pastor

WITH EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS ROUTINELY trashed by the media, it was refreshing to read your positive and evenhanded article on Rick Warren, a humble man working his hardest to make a difference for the poor [Aug. 18]. Now there's something that people on both sides of the political aisle can get behind.

Andy Horvath, ELVERSON, PA.

I WAS GLAD TO HEAR THAT PASTOR WARREN is starting to inject a little love into right-wing Christianity. Helping others is certainly an improvement over its usual focus on forcing women to keep unwanted pregnancies and preventing gays from marrying. However, I regret that TIME did not see fit to mention that there are two sides to Warren's plans. A principal cause of poverty in developing countries is the lack of access to birth control and

abortion. Is Warren upholding George W. Bush's global gag rule? Has anyone told him that proselytizing is arrogant in its lack of respect for local cultures? The belief that one's own religion is right and everyone else's is wrong is the root of most of the conflict occurring today. True believers are always wrong, whether they are Christians, Muslims or Jews.

Janet Maker, LOS ANGELES

PERHAPS MORE OFF-PUTTING THAN TIME's fawning account of megapastor Warren is the notion that both presidential candidates should report to this so-called national inquisitor for an Aug. 16 grilling and civics lesson. In testing the candidates' grasp of the Constitution, Warren—and everyone who plays along with him—should recall its separation of church and state.

Michael Colella, SEATTLE

AS AN EVANGELICAL PASTOR, I FIND THE high percentage of fellow Evangelicals who believe that Senator John McCain is the candidate "most guided by his religious beliefs" hard to fathom. The testimonies of the two candidates in your "In Their Words" section shows McCain, in fact, to be far less connected to Evangelical spirituality than Barack Obama, who can also lay claim to an authentic born-again experience. Unfortunately, what this shows is that many Evangelicals believe that *Republican* and *Christian* are synonymous terms. It's time that myth be put to rest.

The Rev. John Hubers, CHICAGO

## C'mon, Bill and Hillary—Smile!

I DON'T GIVE A DAMN ABOUT ANY SLIGHT, perceived or otherwise, of Senator Hillary Clinton or her backers by Obama or his staff [Aug. 18]. America needs a Democrat in the White House. We need Obama's



# STRAIGHT UP.

intelligence, his willingness to seek diplomatic solutions and his patience. Soothe your own bruised egos. Relax the clenched jaws. Pay your own bills. Above all other matters, work hard to get Obama elected in November.

John Gambardella  
CUNDELTOWN, AUSTRALIA

### The Best Birth

YOUR ARTICLE ON HOME BIRTH CREDITS me with natural childbirth advocacy that started a new wave of home births in the 1970s [Aug. 18]. As one who is still advocating for women today, I'd like to correct a widely held myth repeated in your article: that the mass move to hospital births accounted for the huge drop in the maternal mortality rate between 1940 and 1960. Actually, public-health developments such as the availability of antibiotics, blood transfusions and intravenous fluids accounted for most of that reduction in the death rate. The real question is why that rate has doubled since 1982. Remember: the home birth rate has been less than 1% since the 1970s—far too small to account for the rise in the death rate.

Ina May Gaskin, Executive Director,  
The Farm Midwifery Center  
SUMMERTOWN, TENN.

I WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR THE ARTICLE on home birth, since giving birth to my beautiful baby boys at home was the best gift I could have ever given them. They were born in comfort, with the familiar sounds, love and patience that they had known the whole time I was pregnant. They were helped into the world with the warmth of our midwives' hands. There was no rush—ever. It was my birth, my way. I was in total control of my decisions as I was when I conceived these babies. I hope that one day women and doctors will wake up and smell the coffee. Birth is a natural process between mother and baby. Support local home-birth midwives because peace begins with birth.

Amy Robillard, HONOLULU

I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT ONE NATURAL aspect of a home birth that your writer missed: death. As an emergency nurse working in a city, I see countless women who arrive at the hospital—and die—after a home birth gone wrong. I fully support having a midwife-assisted birth, but it should be done in a birthing center within a hospital setting equipped to deal with emergencies.

Elspeth McTavish, TORONTO

### A THIRD OPTION FOR MOMS

THE MODERN SOON-TO-BE MOM no longer has to choose between a hospital and a home birth [Aug. 18].

A third choice combines the availability of a certified nurse midwife (CNM) and physicians, often in a birthing room filled with music, therapeutic scents and family. A CNM comes to the laboring woman sooner than an obstetrician normally would. There are no timetables, just monitoring to ensure the baby's safety. An obstetrician is available in fewer than five minutes, and the midwives do not hesitate to call if anything is in question. It is up to women to seek out resources in their area that will fulfill their needs while ensuring that any emergency can be dealt with.

Gail Loofbourrow  
KAILUA KONA, HAWAII

### Knock 'Em, Sock 'Em McCain

THE CAMPAIGN OUTLINED IN "A WHOLE NEW McCAIN" is an insult to the intelligence of the American voter [Aug. 18]. When our military personnel are dying in foreign wars, McCain dares to raise Paris Hilton and Britney Spears to the



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level of a national political debate. With the U.S. facing an energy emergency, McCain jokes about tire inflation. When your 85-year-old mother loses her General Motors health benefits because GM can't sell cars, you want health-care solutions, not McCain's juvenile critique of Obama's European trip. Voters must demand solutions from those running for office—not fifth-grade political campaigns with playground sound bites. As a retired U.S. Air Force veteran, I find it disturbing that McCain has lost touch with reality.

Major Robert Torney (ret.)  
escondido, CALIF.

SURELY, THIS IS "A WHOLE NEW MCCAIN." Gone is the McCain of principle, the maverick, the straight talker. Gone is the McCain who stood with the troops and backed up his rhetoric with votes in the Senate. Gone is the McCain we might disagree with on issues but whom we could still respect as a person of substance. To those who still wonder if a McCain presidency would amount to no more than a third Bush Administration, wonder no more: McCain is already giving us more of what Bush has been handing us for eight years now.

Brian P. Cohoon, ST. PAUL, MINN.

### Dude, There's a Ball in My Iced Tea

I THINK IT'S FUNNY HOW BILLY GAINES, the founder of Bpong.com, says competitive beer pong is not about the alcohol

**'We spend the equivalent of a year of foreign aid to Ethiopia in less than three days in Iraq. What does this say about our priorities?'**

Bill Cosgriff, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

[Aug. 18]. As a college student myself, I know that most students aren't playing to fill their cups with Gatorade. They like the added bonus of getting drunk as part of the competition.

Brett Johnson  
SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.

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## Inbox

### Can Obama Debate?

I THINK OBAMA'S RELUCTANCE TO DEBATE, especially in a town-hall context, stems from his not wanting to think on his feet, something he doesn't seem to do particularly well, with his frequent stammering and "wait a minute" efforts to clarify himself [Aug. 18]. When you can't be straight with people about what you really want to do, you get stuck trying to think fast about what you can say that will placate the large majority of people and not tick off your base. In Obama's case, that seems to present a real challenge.

Dan Burns, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

### Aiding Africa

IN YOUR ARTICLE "PAIN AMID PLENTY," YOU write that this year the U.S. will give more than \$800 million to Ethiopia: \$460 million for food, \$350 million for HIV/AIDS treatment and \$7 million for agricultural development [Aug. 18]. To put that amount of money in perspective, let's take a look at what we are currently spending on the war in Iraq: \$100 billion a year, or \$8 billion a month, which is \$275 million a day. So we spend the equivalent of our entire foreign aid to Ethiopia for one year in less than three days in Iraq. What does this say about our priorities?

Bill Cosgriff, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

### Florida Students Shine

DESPITE TIME'S DOOM-AND-GLOOM REPORT, more Florida students are performing at or above grade level than ever before [July 10]. *Education Week's* "Quality Counts" report ranked Florida's public-education system among the top 15 in the nation and seventh overall in K-12 student achievement. Florida was one of only four states to improve significantly in both fourth- and eighth-grade reading. More than one fifth of Florida's public high school graduates passed an Advanced Placement exam, ranking Florida fourth in the nation. Florida also leads every other state in the number of African American and Hispanic students passing AP exams and has eliminated the Hispanic student-achievement gap.

Eric J. Smith, Florida Commissioner of Education, TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

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- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.

## POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

### The most common side effects are:

- Headache
- Feeling flushed
- Upset stomach

### Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

## HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

### Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

### Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you. If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

## NEED MORE INFORMATION?

- This is only a summary of important information. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for complete product information OR
- Go to [www.viagra.com](http://www.viagra.com) or call (888) 4-VIAGRA (484-2472).

Uninsured? Need help paying for Pfizer medicine? Pfizer has programs that can help. Call 1-866-706-2400 or visit [www.PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com](http://www.PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com).



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helpful  
answers

FEATURED THIS MONTH ON SKY RADIO NETWORK

# SALUTE TO WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Each month Sky Radio features guests covering trends in law, technology, business, finance, people, government and world events. [www.SkyRadioNetwork.com](http://www.SkyRadioNetwork.com)

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“THE OLDER MY  
FLOWERS GET,  
THE MORE  
I LOVE THEM.”



A DIAMOND IS FOREVER

# Briefing

THE WORLD □ VERBATIM □ THE PAGE □ HISTORY

□ POP CHART □ MILESTONES



## The Moment

8|18|08: Islamabad

LOOKING GRIM AND SOUNDING glum, Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf announced his resignation on national TV Aug. 18, sparking celebrations among his people and anxiety in Washington. U.S. officials worried about Pakistan's stability, the security of its nuclear weapons, the intentions of its extremists and, not least, the country's enthusiasm for the global war on terrorism. Once a staunch U.S. ally in that fight, Musharraf had allowed jihadis to regroup. It's reasonable to wonder if civil-

ian leaders would have stronger stomachs. But the most pertinent question is one Washington has often had to ask in tough parts of the world, when the neatness of a friendly autocrat gives way to the messiness of popular rule: Can the U.S. work with a democratic Pakistan?

Historically, the U.S. has found it hard to deal with elected leaders in Islamabad: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif had minds of their own, while the generals who deposed them were more pli-

ant. The message this has sent to Pakistanis is that the U.S. doesn't care who rules them, as long as he or she is amenable to the American agenda.

It's time for a new message. The U.S. must make it clear that it stands foursquare

**After Musharraf's departure, the U.S. must deal with a democratic Pakistan**

behind Pakistan's democracy and will not countenance another military takeover.

Granted, such resolve will be sorely tested. Pakistan's democracy is messier than most. Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari, sworn enemies leading the rul-

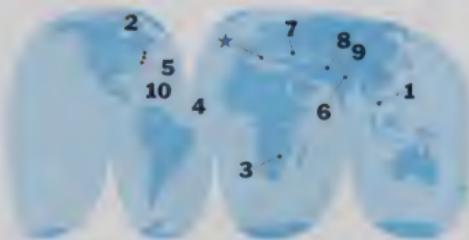
ing coalition, are irresponsible politicians and inept administrators. If governance suffers because of their rivalry, Pakistan's problems—extremism, economic hardship, joblessness—will get worse. Inevitably, pressure will grow on General Ashfaq Kayani, the military chief, to follow his predecessors and mount a coup.

Getting Zardari, Sharif and Kayani working together—or at least preventing them from working against one another—will require the U.S. to skillfully offer carrots and brandish sticks. Nothing in Islamabad is ever easy. But Pakistan's democracy is worth preserving—not least because the alternative doesn't work.

—BY BOBBY GHOSH

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Floodwaters overwhelmed homes, paddies and tourist sites throughout Southeast Asia

## 1 | Vietnam

### The Mekong's Fatal Floods

More than 160 people have died in northern Vietnam as a result of what is being called the worst flooding in a century. Two weeks of heavy rainfall swelled the Mekong River and its tributaries, causing mudslides and inundating homes and rice paddies throughout Southeast Asia. At certain points of the Mekong—a 2,700-mile (about 4,350 km) waterway that runs from China through Laos, Cambodia and southern Vietnam before reaching the South China Sea—water levels surged as far as 45 ft. (about 14 m) above the river's dry-season lows. Meanwhile, in Burma, which is still recovering from a cyclone that killed at least 84,000 people in May, torrential rains have forced people to flee their homes—particularly residents of the Irrawaddy delta, one of the areas hardest hit by the deadly spring storm.



VIETNAM

**AMETHYST:** from the Greek *a-* ("not") and *methusos* ("drunk"); ancient Greeks thought the stone prevented intoxication

**COALITION PLANS TO RUN NATIONAL ADS CALLING FOR A DEBATE AMONG LAWMAKERS.**

**MEMBERS AGAINST DRUNK DRIVING,** however, say lowering the drinking age would only lead to more fatal car accidents.

## 2 | Vermont

### Legalize It?

College presidents from nearly 100 U.S. universities, including Duke, Tufts and Texas A&M, have signed a petition to lower the national drinking age, saying current laws encourage a culture of clandestine binge-drinking among students younger than 21. Known as the Amethyst Initiative, the



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Numbers:

\$1

Sale price of a foreclosed home in Detroit; it took 19 days to sell

## 3 | Zimbabwe

### Real Victims in a War of Words

Power-sharing talks between President Robert Mugabe and his political rival Morgan Tsvangirai are in danger of breaking down completely almost four weeks after they began, sources inside the negotiations say. Tsvangirai's party has agreed to convene parliament in an attempt to revive Zimbabwe's moribund government but won't allow Mugabe to appoint a Cabinet until an agreement is reached. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands have fled the country to escape the economic crisis. More than 80% of the population is unemployed; 45% is malnourished. The inflation rate topped 11.2 million percent in June—by far the highest in the world.



**BECAUSE OF SOARING INFLATION AND FOOD SHORTAGES, A LOAF OF BREAD IN ZIMBABWE CAN COST THE EQUIVALENT OF \$150**

## 5 | New York

### Bailouts: Bad For Business

Rather than reassuring stock markets, a government offer to assist U.S. mortgage lenders Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae has spooked investors, who fear that a big government loan or purchase of corporate debt could devalue their own shares. Stock prices for both companies fell sharply in August, while Freddie was forced to sell \$3 billion in debt at its highest borrowing costs in a decade.

## 6 | Nepal

### A Guerrilla Takes Command

Prachanda, the mercurial chief of Nepal's Maoists, was sworn in as the country's new Prime Minister on Aug. 18, four months after his former rebel group won a majority in landmark elections that transformed the Himalayan kingdom into a secular republic. Nepal's new leader now faces food and fuel shortages, opposition from the displaced Old Guard and friction with regional separatists.



## 4 | The Ocean

### Living with Dead Zones

According to a report published in the journal *Science*, the number of dead zones—areas of the ocean with oxygen levels so low that marine life can barely survive—has doubled every 10 years since the 1960s as a result of a runoff polluted with nitrogen-rich crop fertilizer. There are now more than 400 such zones—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Black Sea (see map above)—which, the report's authors say, pose as great a threat to coastal ecosystems as overfishing and habitat loss.

57%

Percentage of Americans who believe God's intervention could save a family member even if physicians declare treatment would be futile, according to a recent survey



## 7 | Georgia

**BURNING ANGER** After a brief pause, fires have started again in the breakaway republic of South Ossetia, as Ossetian villagers burn and pillage homes belonging to ethnic Georgian residents. "They did this because they don't want us to come back," says Iosif Zadashvili, who claims Russian soldiers

stood by while Ossetian irregulars beat him in the courtyard of his home. With many villages reduced to burned-out shells, looters were seen hauling off TVs, refrigerators and other household appliances. On the road to the Russian border, graffiti on the side of a building read THANK YOU, RUSSIA! But in Tbilisi, President Mikheil Saakashvili remained defiant. "They are badly dressed, badly equipped, and many of them are drunk," he told TIME.

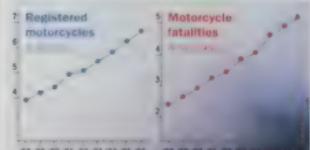
"There are just a lot of them." — BY JOHN WENDLE/TSKHINVALI AND ANDREW PURVIS/TBILISI

DISPATCH

## 10 | Washington

## Live Fast, Die Young(er)

Though car-accident fatalities are declining, the number of Americans killed on motorcycles has risen dramatically. Strong sales, boosted by the bikes' fuel efficiency and baby boomers' desire to relive their two-wheeled glory days, have increased the number of motorcycles on the road. Meanwhile, just 20 states now require helmets, compared with 47 in 1975.



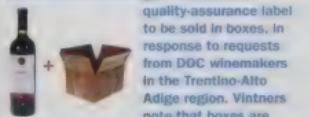
SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

## ★ | What They're Drinking In Italy:

Italy's agriculture ministry has announced it will allow wines produced under its DOC (*denominazione di origine controllata*)

quality-assurance label

to be sold in boxes, in response to requests from DOC winemakers in the Trentino-Alto Adige region. Vintners note that boxes are cheaper and more eco-friendly than glass and can keep wine fresh longer. But while boxed wine may be losing its lowbrow stigma, hold on to that corkscrew: wines with the tonier DOCG (*denominazione di origine controllata e garantita*) designation are still bottle-only.



## 8 and 9 | Afghanistan

## Q+A with: President Hamid Karzai

**TIME** Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, your longtime foe, stepped down Aug. 18. What does this mean for Afghanistan?

**KARZAI** Arrivals and departures don't matter much—unless we correct the institutions, unless we change the mind-sets that follow an old policy.

**TIME** One reason the Taliban is gaining ground is because people are rapidly losing faith in your government.

**KARZAI** I don't think the Afghan people would prefer the Taliban to the current government. They have reduced faith in the government, yes, definitely ... [But] the Taliban will never be, in the eyes of the Afghan people, an alternative.

**TIME** You are expected to run for a second term in office in 2009.

**KARZAI** I have a job to complete.

**TIME** Why do you think you are the best person to complete this job?

**KARZAI** I hope there is someone who can do a better job than me ... One of my duties for Afghanistan is to find the next leadership of this country.



**5** Number of juvenile offenders hanged in Iran so far this year. Amnesty International reports. Iran was second only to China in overall executions in 2007

**1** IN **3**

Proportion of women in the U.S. who gave birth in the past 12 months who were separated, divorced, widowed or unmarried at the time



For daily sound bites,  
visit [time.com/quotes](http://time.com/quotes)

# Verbatim

'There's always going to be a spore on a grassy knoll.'

**VAHID MAJIDI**, head of the FBI's weapons-of-mass-destruction division, on conspiracy theories about the case against Bruce Ivins, the now dead military scientist accused of mailing anthrax that killed five people in 2001

'Mickey Mouse isn't there to protect those people.'

**WAYNE LAPIERRE**, chief executive of the National Rifle Association, blasting Disney for refusing to allow employees to keep concealed weapons in their cars at work as permitted by Florida law

'A pillar of the regime has been hit.'

**KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN**, scholar at the French think tank IFRI, after an explosives-rigged car rammed a police academy in Algeria, killing at least 43 people. The next day, 11 people were killed in similar attacks

'Finally the literary stylite has fallen from his pedestal and is as much a sinner as you or I.'

**ULRICH WEINZIERL**, Franz Kafka scholar, on the revelation that the writer subscribed to highbrow pornography

'You're going to eat your words.'

**RICK DYER**, a Georgia man who offers Bigfoot tours; addressing skeptics after he and colleague Matthew Whitton said they had photos and DNA of a Bigfoot corpse—later found to be a monkey suit and opossum DNA

'For the Indian, the forest is his mother, his life, his present and future.'

**MARGARITA MYBWANGI**, vowing to protect forests and land rights, after becoming the first indigenous person appointed Paraguay's Minister of Indigenous Affairs

'Is there some frequent-flyer program?'

**BILL MURRAY**, actor, before jumping from an airplane at 13,500 ft. (4,100 m) to kick off the 50th Chicago Air and Water Show



## Back & Forth:

### Space Race

'Iran is ready to launch satellites of friendly Islamic countries into space.'

**REZA TAGHIPOUR**, head of Iran's space agency, after the nation declared that it had test-fired a new rocket capable of carrying a satellite into orbit

'[Iran] deliberately exaggerates its air and space successes.'

**YITZHAK BEN**, head of Israel's space agency, saying Tehran is bluffing in order to dissuade Israel or the U.S. from attacking its nuclear sites

### Voting

'It is slow, insecure and opens up room for error.'

**KEVIN KENNEDY**, director of Wisconsin's elections board, complaining about the state's outdated voting machines: In 1,500 polling places, officials have to use calculators to add up machine tallies

'We simply are not going to sacrifice the integrity of the certification process for expediency.'

**ROSEMARY RODRIGUEZ**, chairwoman of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, saying flaws in thousands of voting machines nationwide won't be fixed by November's election because of a scheduling backlog

### North Korea

'The United States has not kept its promise to remove us from the list of states sponsoring terrorism.'

**KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY**, North Korea's state media outlet, accusing the U.S. of failing to honor a six-nation denuclearization deal

'We need action for action.'

**ROBERT WOOD**, State Department spokesman, saying North Korea must first fulfill its end of the bargain by adopting measures to verify its nuclear inventory





The Economist Group

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PARKING

# The Page

BY MARK HALPERIN

## The Road to Denver. An incomplete history of Barack Obama's path to the Democratic nomination



JAN. 8 Clinton wins the New Hampshire primary



JAN. 7 A stressed, vulnerable Clinton tears up at a New Hampshire diner; the media are suspicious, but voters seem sympathetic



JAN. 26 As Obama wins the South Carolina primary, Bill Clinton compares him to Jesse Jackson, a remark seen by some as an effort to diminish his victory



AUG. 25-28 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

JAN. 28 Ted Kennedy gives Obama the most important endorsement of the whole campaign



JUNE 7 Clinton at last ends her campaign with a speech at the National Building Museum in Washington

FEB. 5 Super Tuesday: Obama and Clinton basically tie, settling nothing



JUNE 3 Clinton wins South Dakota, while Obama wins Montana. The fist-bumping Obamas appear at a huge rally in St. Paul, Minn., to claim the nomination, but Clinton does not concede

2004  
JULY 27 Obama enters the national collective consciousness with a stirring keynote speech at the Democrats' national convention in Boston

NOV. 2 Obama wins his U.S. Senate seat, resolves to keep his head down and learn the ropes

2006  
OCT. 23



2007  
JAN. 20 Hillary Clinton announces her candidacy via Internet video, declaring, "I'm in. And I'm in to win. (She was half right)

FEB. 10 Obama launches his presidential bid in Springfield, Ill.; 15,000 brave the cold. He likens himself to Lincoln and sells some hope

DEC. 14 Bill Clinton tells Charlie Rose that voting for Obama would require a "roll [of] the dice"—the first of a series of remarks that turn the Clinton-Obama contest into a two-on-one battle



FEB. 9 Obama takes contests in Louisiana, the Virgin Islands, Nebraska and Washington, beginning a monthlong winning streak

MARCH 4 Clinton fights back from political death—again—by winning the Texas and Ohio primaries



MARCH 18 After his pastor, Jeremiah Wright, becomes the most controversial preacher in America, Obama delivers an impressive speech on race in Philadelphia

APRIL 6 Obama gives a speech to a group of rich people in San Francisco about the bitter, gun-toting, clingy people of Pennsylvania



MAY 14 The day after Clinton wins the Indiana primary, but it's too late: Obama's victory in North Carolina effectively locks up the nomination (again)

MAY 6 Clinton wins the Indiana primary, but it's too late: Obama's victory in North Carolina effectively locks up the nomination

APRIL 29 Obama severs ties with Wright "unequivocally" after the reverend's incendiary National Press Club appearance



Read Mark Halperin every day on [thepage.time.com](http://thepage.time.com)



# 8 CRAZY EXPERIMENTS

BOLD ENOUGH TO CHANGE THE WORLD.

003.00.00 C

004.00.00 D

005.00.00 E

006.00.00 F

Walking Trees  
Reinventing Clouds  
Reframing Gravity  
Orbiting Shelters  
Aire Blankets  
Glacier Nutrition  
Sunpower Beam

DISCOVERY  
**PROJECT EARTH**  
BEGINNING AUGUST 22 Fridays 9PM

presented by  
Bank of America

Discovery  
CHANNEL

[discoveries.com/project-earth](http://discoveries.com/project-earth)

# A Brief History Of:

## Former Soviet Republics



**S**INCE THE BREAKUP OF THE SOVIET UNION IN 1991, ITS former republics have attempted to take different political directions. Most came together in the Commonwealth of Independent States (C.I.S.), which is still led by Russia. The Baltic nations joined NATO and the European Union in 2004—a cause Ukraine and Georgia have flirted with recently—while the resource-rich Central Asian republics have remained largely loyal to Moscow. But after the invasion of Georgia, former members of the U.S.S.R. face an inescapable truth: you can't run from geography. Try as they might to move closer to Europe, many are now nervously eyeing a resurgent Russia on their borders. —BY GILBERT CRUZ

### THE BALTICS

1. ESTONIA
2. LATVIA
3. LITHUANIA

Thriving, technologically advanced democracies with prickly relationships with Russia. Estonia blames Moscow for major cyberattacks in 2007.



### EASTERN EUROPE

1. BELARUS
2. UKRAINE
3. MOLDOVA

Russia has held a grudge against Ukraine since the 2004 pro-democracy Orange Revolution. Belarus has kept particularly close ties with Moscow, while Russian troops are currently stationed in a semidetached Moldovan territory.



### THE CAUCASUS

1. GEORGIA
2. ARMENIA
3. AZERBAIJAN

A vital region for the West, which has high hopes for an oil pipeline through Azerbaijan. George W. Bush visited ally Mikheil Saakashvili in Georgia in 2005. Tiny Armenia, which borders Turkey and Iran, readily accepts Russian protection.



### CENTRAL ASIA

1. KAZAKHSTAN
2. UZBEKISTAN
3. TURKMENISTAN
4. KYRGYZSTAN
5. TAJIKISTAN

These states are wedged between Russia and China. Several are resource-rich and endure varying levels of autocratic rule; a few have let NATO use land for bases.

### THE SKIMMER



#### The Obama Nation

By Jerome R. Corsi  
Threshold Editions; 364 pages

THE THERE IS A NEED FOR A book that sees into the soul of Barack Obama, that measures the strength of his convictions and explains why he seems to be so good at telling people what they long to hear. *The Obama Nation* is not that book. It reads like the worst kind of blog: slapdash, lazy, narcissistic. Corsi, who weirdly refers to himself as "we" throughout, is clearly gunning to repeat the success of the 2004 hit job *Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry*, which he co-authored. Early sales of *Obama Nation* have been strong, but readers looking for new information (of the accurate and revealing kind) will be disappointed. The book begins with a summary of a YouTube video and draws heavily on insinuations culled from blogs, TV, newspapers and Obama's own books. Corsi apparently wrote in a mad rush, in the most literal sense: I counted eight factual errors in the first 50 pages. *Obama Nation* may be most useful for readers convinced Obama is secretly a radical leftist Muslim smoker; they may find the book comforting, like reading a Wikipedia entry summarizing everything they have read before.

—BY AMANDA RIPLEY

READ  
SKIM  
TOSS ✓

A black and white photograph of a man and a woman in a room decorated with 1960s-style tapestries. The man, wearing a light-colored shirt, is leaning over a guitar, while the woman, wearing a striped shirt, looks on. The scene is set against a dark background.

## SURVIVE THE '60S?

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# Pop Chart

## Olympic Edition



**SPANISH BASKETBALL TEAM** poses for racist advertisement



Forty-one-year-old **DARA TORRES**, 41, swims for three silver medals at 41 but gets no gold. She's 41



Wrestler hurls **BRONZE MEDAL** to ground in typical Swedish rage



Underage **CHINESE GYMNASTS?**



**U.S. OLYMPIANS** win gold medal in **THURSTON HOWELL III**-impersonation event



**FULL-BODY SWIMSUITS** help smash world records, ruin Games for female viewers

TOP: BOSTON PHOENIX; COLUMN: AP/WIDEWORLD, BETTY RUBEN, DOROTHY BROWN, RICHARD HARRIS, ROBERT KAPPEL, JEFFREY MAYER, ANDREW LEE; BOTTOM: AP/WIDEWORLD, MICHAEL SAWYER, AP/WIDEWORLD, ANDREW LEE; GREG GRIFFIN, AP/WIDEWORLD; LEFT: AP/WIDEWORLD; CENTER: AP/WIDEWORLD; RIGHT: AP/WIDEWORLD; TOP: BOSTON PHOENIX; COLUMN: AP/WIDEWORLD, BETTY RUBEN, DOROTHY BROWN, RICHARD HARRIS, ROBERT KAPPEL, JEFFREY MAYER, ANDREW LEE; BOTTOM: AP/WIDEWORLD, MICHAEL SAWYER, AP/WIDEWORLD, ANDREW LEE; GREG GRIFFIN, AP/WIDEWORLD; LEFT: AP/WIDEWORLD; CENTER: AP/WIDEWORLD; RIGHT: AP/WIDEWORLD

SHOCKING

**ELBOW.** Pop. Ouch.



Fall of the front runners—**LIU XIANG** and Tyson Gay



Chinese fake **OPENING-CEREMONY FIREWORKS**. Embarrassing, considering they invented them



NBC does its part for China's environment with air-conditioned outdoor studios



Pileup in **HUMAN STEEPLECHASE**

PREDICTABLE



**HUNGARIAN TEAM** ingeniously fashions Olympic Village drapes into opening ceremony uniforms



China detains people who apply for **PROTEST PERMITS**, then gives them dunce caps



Mission accomplished! **U.S. BOXER** assumes premature victory, later discovers he has lost



**MICHAEL PHELPS'** 12,000-calorie-a-day diet. He consumes entire gymnasts

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

**PRESIDENT BUSH** holds up American flag backward, still iffy on concept of "my left" vs. "your left"



# Milestones



## Jerry Wexler

AGELESS, HIP, ERUDITE, caustic, lovable, tough and hypnotic: Jerry Wexler, who died Aug. 15 at 91, was a one-of-a-kind great man of music. Before helping shape the sound of the second half of the 20th century, he was the *Billboard* reporter who coined *rhythm and blues* to replace the category "race music" on the magazine's charts.

With Ahmet Ertegun, he co-piloted Atlantic Records, once saying the label made "black music for black adults." But that underestimated the impact of the classics he produced—Aretha Franklin's *Respect*, Percy Sledge's *When a Man Loves a Woman*, Wilson Pickett's *In the Midnight Hour* and *The Genius of Ray Charles*. When I was president of Columbia Records in the late 1960s and early '70s, signing Janis Joplin, Santana and Earth, Wind & Fire, I knew I had come of age after Jerry reached out to spend time with me. We became friends. I would go to his house in East Hampton and listen to records and marvel at his commen-

tary, always colorful, always mesmerizing and always smart. Artists from every genre would join us, but it was Jerry with his laugh, lexicon and turns of phrase who held center stage. He might have been the elder statesman among us, but when the music played, the years swept away and his youthful enthusiasm bubbled over. Music can lift the soul, change the mood, teach the mind and touch the heart. And the music Jerry Wexler produced will live on, affecting future generations in ways he never thought possible. —BY CLIVE DAVIS

Davis is the chief creative officer at Sony BMG

**Mogul** Wexler, near right, with Aretha Franklin and label exec Henry Allen in 1971



B movies he loved—films that, through his writing, he helped raise from forgotten to fashionable. Son of a store owner in the mining town of Douglas, Ariz., he played football at Berkeley, then went East and upended movie criticism. Writing for the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *Time*, *Cavalier* and a host of art and film journals, Farber elevated the reps of blue collar directors while sniping critics' darlings like Hitchcock and Welles. (*Citizen Kane* was "exciting but hammy.") He sold these advanced ideas through the startling sprung rhythm of his prose, packing an essay's worth of insights into a parenthetical aside, leaving the alert reader exhausted and grateful.

He once said that though he might be thought of as one of the 10 best film critics ever, "what I'd really like is to be

considered one of the 100 best American artists." Yet he didn't demean the writing to which he brought so much passion and pain. "Criticism is very important, and difficult," he said in a 2004 interview. "I can't think of a better thing for a person to do." Surely no one did it better than Manny Farber. —BY RICHARD CORLISS



Critical artist Farber's 1985 oil painting *Domestic Movies*



## Manny Farber

AS AN ARTIST AND A CRITIC, he was the enemy of the ornate. Manny Farber, who died at 91 near San Diego, championed the beauty of small things in his collage work and the cramped brilliance of little men in tight spots in the

**DAVIS** After he was elected in 2001, Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa made it his first order of business to investigate corruption in his predecessor's administration, eventually revealing that former President Frederick Chiluba had stolen some \$41 million from the state during his rule. Mwanawasa thereafter became known as a politician who was never afraid to challenge corruption and greed. He was one of the first African leaders to speak out against the

Zimbabwean despot Robert Mugabe, lamenting the plight of the neighboring country as a "catastrophe." Two months after suffering a debilitating stroke, he died in Paris at age 59.

■ Long Before A League of Their Own brought her story to life on the big screen, pitcher Dottie Collins was already the stuff of legend. During World War II, Collins played for the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, mostly with the Fort Wayne Daisies. She pitched 17 shutouts during her six-year career. Always

tenacious—she continued to play until she was several months pregnant—she was devoted to keeping the memory of the league alive. Collins spearheaded the effort to create the Baseball Hall of Fame exhibit that inspired the 1992 film. She was 84.

■ After Mao Zedong's death in 1976, Hua Guofeng succeeded Mao as chairman of China's Communist Party. Though Hua's tenure at the head of the party was short-lived—he was all but powerless by 1978 and was formally replaced by the more radical Deng Xiaoping in 1981—it was his administration that brought an end to the violence of China's decade-long Cultural Revolution by arresting the extreme leftist Gang of Four, including Mao's widow, in 1976. Hua was 87.



Joel

# Stein

## **Swifter, Higher, Meaner.** The vaunted Olympic spirit is terrible for competition. What we need are some anti-medals

I HATE THE OLYMPIC SPIRIT. NO COMPETITION should be ruined by an undercurrent of peace and harmony. Would baseball be better if Derek Jeter hugged David Ortiz after every game and talked about how wonderful Boston is? If you want an endless event in which everyone pretends to respect everybody else, go to couples therapy. If I'm going to spend two weeks watching something, I want to see some people pouring Champagne on one another and some people crying at the end of it. That's why I watch the baseball playoffs and *Girls Gone Wild*.

How damaging to sports is the Olympic spirit? After all these events, I have no idea who won. Sure, NBC sometimes flashes a "medal count," but that is the stupidest way of measuring victory since the Electoral College. Gold, silver and bronze all count as one point? Then why make different medals? Sure, it practically guarantees that the U.S. gets first place, but that's only in a system in which it's as good to be third best as actual best—and in that world, Ralph Nader would get to make presidential decisions. If you also gave a point in the medal count for fourth through 6.7 billionth best in each sport, China and India would be kicking ass.

**So I've been working on a new scoring system to improve the Games.** The first step is to eliminate all but one medal event per sport. You know why Michael Phelps won eight golds? Because they were all for the same thing. Turns out, he can swim fast when he does two laps and

four laps—and when he's alone and when three other Americans go right after him! You want multiple medals? Do multiple sports. Phelps gets two medals only if he's the best swimmer in the world and the best Taekwondoist. For soccer, the most popular sport in the world, the Olympics give out one gold for men and one for women. That's fewer than go to race-walkers. Shooters get 15. Canoeists get 16, and that's assuming that the 14 rowing



events are somehow different. To be fair, under the current system, the basketball team should be having competitions in three-point shooting, dunking, rebounding, passing, that halftime trampoline thing, T-shirt cannon-blasting and restraining Ron Artest.

In my system, overall points would be weighted by how popular the sport is, as determined by television ratings. You got a bronze in the gymnastic floor competition? That's 100 Olympic points. You nailed a gold in the modern pentathlon? (That's pistol-shooting, épée fencing, swimming, horse-jumping and a run.) You get two points and the right to keep whatever European royal title your family is holding on to. Boxing champions get only three points, since everyone would clearly rather watch ultimate fighting. Sports in which competitors wear makeup get a deduction, as do sports played in only one area of the world: badminton (Asia), water

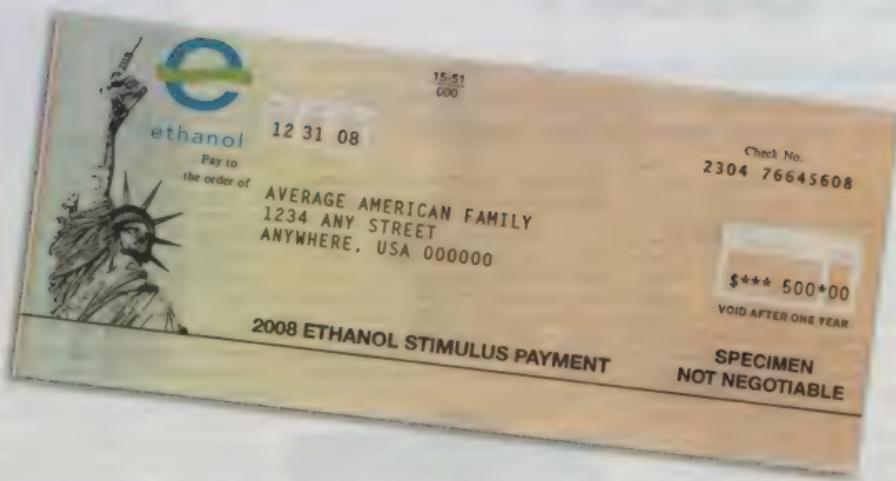
polo (California), field hockey (Smith College). I would also consider body mass index in the point system. Phelps is clearly in incredible athletic shape, so he'd get twice as many points for his wins as the table-tennis gold medalist would. In fact, if time allows, I'd have all the gold medalists, except wrestlers, wrestle one another in an overall 1,000-point super-Olympic event to determine the world's best athlete. I'd also make them all live in one house and complain about one another to the camera a lot.

### **NBC highlights only the top few**

competitors in most sports, but the winners would look a lot more impressive if we also got to see the worst. So I'd give the last three places anti-medals, all made of a decreasing quality of chocolate, starting with Russell Stover and working down from there. Then we would use the European soccer system, in which we'd kick out the country with the most anti-points. Not just out of the Olympics, but out of the international community. The country would lose its seat at the U.N., the little stamp it puts on passports, all its WELCOME TO signs and whatever war it's currently waging. Also, the country that comes in first should get something real: maybe some extra carbon output, four years without tariffs or the right to put its flag on all the world's airplanes.

The stakes need to be raised. We can't continue to have every gymnast hugging every other gymnast when her floor routine ends, and not just because it's bound to be used as bait on *To Catch a Predator*. If the purpose of the Olympics is to make the world more peaceful, maybe the reason it hasn't succeeded is that the Games aren't warlike enough. The ancient Greeks got themselves oiled up to wrestle for a good reason: to channel their bloodlust into something meaningless. Also because they were crazy gay. Globalization has made getting along with countries we've never heard of more important, and the best way to do that is to beat the crap out of them in sports we've never heard of and then rub their faces in it. If we're going to get along, we're going to have to learn how to hate each other when it matters the least.

**You want multiple medals? Do multiple sports. Phelps gets two medals only if he's the best swimmer in the world and the best Taekwondoist**



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# Klein

## Where's the Passion? Obama's measured style worked in the spring but hurt him over the summer. It might cost him the election

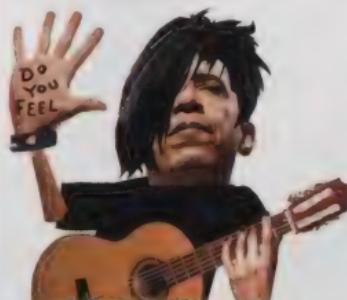
A FEW DAYS BEFORE BARACK OBAMA WAS to announce his choice for Vice President, he was asked at a North Carolina town meeting what qualities he wanted in a running mate. He wandered through a derisive, if desultory, critique of Dick Cheney, then switched gears. "I want somebody... who shares with me a *passion* to make the lives of the American people better than they are right now," he said. "I want somebody who is *mad* right now that people are losing their jobs." And I immediately thought, Uh-oh.

**Memories of John Kerry in 2004** came flooding back, of how he tended to describe his feelings rather than experience them, of how he suddenly—and unconvincingly—started to say he was "angry" about this or that when his consultants told him that Howard Dean's anger about the war in Iraq was hitting home with voters. And then, in the general election, Kerry kept repeating the word *strength* rather than demonstrating it. Clearly, Obama's consultants have given him similar advice; that he was on the short end of a passion gap—that it was time for emo. A day earlier, he had said wage disparities between genders made his "blood boil."

One of the great strengths of the Obama candidacy has been the sense that this is a guy whose blood doesn't boil, who carefully considers the options before he reacts—and that his reaction is always measured and rational. But that's also a weakness: sometimes the most rational response is to rip your opponent's lungs out. On the same day as the North Carolina meeting, Obama spoke to the Veterans

of Foreign Wars and reacted with carefully prepared passion to John McCain's scurrilous campaign theme that Obama doesn't put America first. "Let me be clear: I will let no one question my love of this country," he said, to the best applause he received from that skeptical crowd. It was an effective moment, but defensive. It was not how you win a presidential campaign.

Heading into a crucial moment in this race—his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention—Obama was failing as a candidate in two crucial areas. He had failed to define his opponent, and he was failing, in all but



the most amorphous ways, to define himself. He desperately needed to do unto McCain what McCain had done unto him: hammer his opponent in a sustained, thematic way—not just a few tossed-away lines in a stump speech. That shouldn't be too difficult. An argument can be made that McCain is trigger happy overseas and out of touch at home. In fact, Matt Welch made a convincing trigger-happy argument against McCain in *Reason* magazine—a libertarian publication—cataloging all the times over the past 20 years that McCain has overreacted to international crises, down to his recent ridiculous statement that the situation in Georgia was "the first probably serious crisis internationally

since the end of the Cold War." After the past seven years, Americans are, rightfully, war-weary, and McCain is a candidate who can't seem to go a day without proclaiming a crisis somewhere that demands an American military reaction. Indeed, this should be the natural predicate for Obama's positive argument in this election: that we desperately need to get our act together at home.

But Obama seems not to have fully assimilated what should be the message of his campaign: It's the economy, egghead. The economy was almost entirely missing from his dialogue with Pastor Rick Warren at Saddleback Church—and there were more than a few opportunities to insert it. When Warren braced him on abortion, Obama fumbled around, attempting to sound reasonable. He should have said straight out, "We're gonna disagree on this one. I respect your view on abortion, but I'm pro-choice..." And you know, Pastor Rick, Jesus never mentions abortion in the Bible. He did say, though, that it's easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter heaven. Now, that's a metaphor—but it's also good tax policy. Unlike John McCain, I want to make it easier for rich people to go to heaven."

**He might also have mentioned that** he favored the current bipartisan energy proposal that would permit offshore drilling and invest in alternative energy, but McCain opposed it because it would "raise taxes" on the oil companies by closing loopholes.

The last question at the North Carolina town meeting came from a homeless veteran who said more than half of the 200 people living in his shelter were veterans too. Obama gave a solid, substantive answer. What he should have said was, "That's outrageous! Why don't we go over there right now—I'd like to thank them for their service and see what we can do to help." That sort of spontaneity—that sort of real passion—is what's missing from this candidacy. I suspect Obama will have a hard time winning unless he finds some of it.

**This is a guy whose blood doesn't boil, but sometimes the most rational response is to rip your opponent's lungs out**

**When you look  
at this photo,  
what do you see?**

- 1. Black Man
- 2. Healer
- 3. Novice
- 4. Radical
- 5. The Future
- All of the above

**Your answer,  
explained.**  
**The Five Faces  
Of Barack  
Obama**

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



Photographs by Ben Baker—Redux



**F** BARACK OBAMA HAD NOT CHOSEN a life in politics, he might have made a fine psychotherapist. He is a master at taking what you've told him and feeding it right back. *What I hear you saying is...*

Open his book *The Audacity of Hope* to almost any page and listen. On immigration, for example, Obama first mirrors "the faces of this new America" he has met in the ethnic stew pot of Chicago: "in the Indian markets along Devon Avenue, in the sparkling new mosque in the southwestern suburbs, in an Armenian wedding and a Filipino ball." Then he pivots to give voice to the "anxieties" of "many blacks" and "as many whites about the wave of illegal immigration," adding: "Not all of these fears are irrational." He admits that he knows the "frustration" of needing an interpreter to speak to one's auto mechanic and in the next breath cherishes the innocent dreams of an immigrant child.

In other words, he hears America singing—and griping, fretting, seething, conniving, hoping, despairing. He can deliver a pitch-perfect expression of the racial anger of many American blacks—as he did in his much discussed speech on race relations earlier this year—and, just as smoothly, unpack the racial irritations gnawing at many whites. To what extent does he share any of those emotions? The doctor never exactly says.

Consciously or unconsciously, Obama has been honing this technique for years. During his time at Harvard Law School in the 1980s, the student body was deeply divided. In one heated debate, Obama so adroitly summarized the various positions

without tipping his own hand that by the end of the meeting, as Professor Charles Ogletree told one newspaper, "everyone was nodding. Oh, he agrees with me."

He has been called a window into the American psyche. Or you might say he's a mirror—what you see depends on who you are and where you stand. Obama puts it this way: "I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes project their own views." But those metaphors all suggest that he is some sort of passive instrument, when in fact his elusive quality is an active part of his personality. It's how you square the fact that Obama once wrote the most intimate memoir ever published by a future nominee yet still manages to avoid definition. At his core, this is a deeply reserved and emotionally reticent man. Consider this anecdote from *Dreams from My Father*: as a young man in New York City, he lived next door to an elderly recluse "who seemed to share my disposition." When he happened to meet his neighbor returning from the

store, Obama would offer to carry the old man's groceries. Together, the two of them would slowly climb the stairs, never speaking, and at the top, the man would nod silently "before shuffling inside and closing the latch ... I thought him a kindred spirit," Obama concludes.

Both his rhetorical style and his ingrained disposition tend to obscure rather than reveal. This is how Obama remains enigmatic no matter how much we see of him. As the campaign enters its last chapter, it may not be enough for him to say, as he often does, "This election is not about me ... this campaign is about you." Supporters and opponents alike want a clearer picture of Obama, and they are selecting elements of his words, policies, public record and biography to shape their clashing interpretations. Those pieces of Obama are also open to interpretation, because so few of them are stamped from any familiar presidential mold: the polygamous father, the globe-traveling single mother, the web of roots spreading from

## Four of the five faces of Obama pose various threats to his hopes for victory. The fifth is the one his campaign intends to drive home



Kansas to Kenya, friends and relatives from African slums to Washington and Wall Street, and intellectual influences ranging from Alexander Hamilton to Malcolm X. Four of the faces of Obama pose various threats to his hopes for victory. The fifth is the one his campaign intends to drive home, from the convention in Denver right to Election Day.

## 1. The Black Man

HENRY LOUIS GATES JR. ONCE WROTE AN essay on the life of writer Anatole Broyard, the light-complexioned son of two black parents who lived his life passing as a white man. "He wanted to be a writer," Gates explained, but "he did not want to be a Negro writer. It is a crass disjunction, but it is not his crassness or his disjunction... We give lip service to the idea of the writer who happens to be black, but had anyone, in the postwar era, ever seen such a thing?"

Obama tells a parallel story in his memoir, the journey of a man raised by his Caucasian mother and grandparents who seeks his identity as an African American. Along the path, he was drawn to a number of older black men who argued that America's racial divide is absolute and unbridgeable. Obama recalls a visit as a teenager to the home of a black man his white grandfather considered a friend. To his surprise, the man explained that it was hopeless to think any white man could truly befriend someone black. "He can't know me," the man said of Obama's grandfather. No matter how close they might seem, "I still have to watch myself."

That is resolutely not the message communicated in Obama's campaign, however. "I reject a politics that is based solely on racial

identity, gender identity, sexual orientation or victimhood generally," he has declared. He enjoys nearly unanimous support from African Americans in polls; nevertheless, just as Broyard sought to avoid being labeled a "Negro writer," Obama resists efforts to define him as a "black candidate." And for some of the same reasons too. As soon as the race label is added, some of the audience tunes out, others are turned off and still others leap to conclusions about who you are and how you think. Obama has written that race was his "obsession" growing up but that he long ago left that burden behind. Now he lays claim to the whole spectrum: "the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas" with "brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents."

The question, to borrow from Gates, is whether enough people in 2008 are ready to imagine such a thing. There's an interesting scene in *Dreams* in which Obama meets for the first time another of those influential elders—the Rev. Jeremiah Wright. Earlier this year, Wright's comments about race led Obama to repudiate his former pastor. In an uncanny way, this conversation from more than 20 years ago goes directly to the heart of Obama's current dilemma. The eminent sociologist William Julius Wilson had published a book arguing that the role of race in shaping society was giving way to class. But for Wright, the concept of a postracial politics simply didn't compute. "These miseducated brothers," the pastor fumed to the young Obama, "like that sociologist at the University of Chicago, talking about

'the declining significance of race.' Now, what country is he living in?"

If identity politics might gain some black votes for Obama, it can also cost him votes elsewhere. So how many Americans will agree with Wright that race is still front and center? The number is notoriously slippery, because voters don't always tell pollsters the truth. At the *Weekly Standard*, a magazine with a neocon tilt, writer Stanley Kurtz rejects Obama's postracial message because he suspects it isn't sincere. Probing the coverage of Obama's career as an Illinois legislator in the black-oriented newspaper the *Chicago Defender*, Kurtz concluded, "The politician chronicled here is profoundly race-conscious." Though Kurtz's message is aimed primarily at whites, it's not so different from one angrily whispered by Jesse Jackson. "I want to cut his nuts off," Jackson fumed—because he believes that Obama's race ought to determine which issues the candidate raises and how he discusses them. Either way, whether an opponent claims that Obama remains race-conscious or a supporter says he ought to be, both are rejecting the foundation of his campaign.

Figures like Jackson and Wright have invested a lifetime in the politics of black identity. Obama's success, whether it culminates in the White House or not, signals the passing of their era. So it is no wonder that younger voters have been key to his candidacy. Having grown up in the era of Oprah Winfrey, Denzel Washington, Tiger Woods and, yes, Henry Louis Gates Jr., they are better able to credit Obama's thesis that "there's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America."

## 2. The Healer

DREAMS FROM MY FATHER IS THE STORY of a quest—not for honor or fortune but for meaning. The book presents a wounded young man who has never felt entirely at home—not among whites or among blacks, neither in slums nor in student unions—and is haunted by “the constant, crippling fear that I didn’t belong.” He wants to know how to feel rooted and purposeful. At the end of his odyssey, he decides to take a leap of faith. For the young Obama, “faith in other people” becomes his home.

This is what he preaches: the seemingly unlimited power of people who are willing to trust, cooperate and compromise. Bringing people together for action, what he calls “organizing,” holds “the promise of redemption.” And without exactly saying it, Obama offers himself as the embodiment of his own message, the one-man rainbow coalition. You don’t believe white and black can peacefully, productively co-exist? Think the gulf between Chicago’s South Side and the *Harvard Law Review* can never be bridged? Do you fear that the Muslim masses of Africa and Asia are incompatible with the modernity of the West or that cosmopolitan America and Christian America will never see eye to eye? Just look at me! It’s not unusual to meet Obama supporters who say the simple fact of electing him would move mountains, changing the way the world looks at America, turning the page on the nation’s racial history and so on. He is the change they seek.

The message doesn’t work for everyone: so far, Obama’s numbers in the national polls average below 50%. But his enormous and enthusiastic audiences are evidence that many people are intrigued, if not deeply moved. “Yes, we can!” turns out to be a powerful trademark at a time when 3 out of 4 Americans believe the country is on the wrong track. Many Democrats placed their political bets on anger in recent years: anger at the war, anger over the disputed election in 2000, anger at Bush Administration policies. Obama doubled down on optimism, beginning with his career-making speech at the 2004 Democratic Convention: “Hope in the face of difficulty, hope in the face of uncertainty, the audacity of hope. In the end, that is God’s greatest gift to us, the bedrock of this nation, a belief in things not seen, a belief that there are better days ahead.”

If you click deeply enough into Obama’s website, you can find position papers covering enough issues to fill *Congressional Quarterly*. He has a specific strategy to refocus the military on Afghanistan. He backs a single-payer health-care system. But it wasn’t some ro-point plan that turned Obama into a politician who fills arenas while others

## Obama reflects the widespread feeling among younger Americans that time is marching forward but politics is not

speak in school cafeterias. He knows that detailed policies tend to drive people apart rather than bring them together. People arrived to hear him out of fervor or mere curiosity, and they stayed for the sense of possibility. They heard rhetoric like this, from his speech claiming victory after his epic nomination battle: “If we are willing to work for it and fight for it and believe in it, then I am absolutely certain that generations from now, we will be able to look back and tell our children that this was the moment when we began to provide care for the sick and good jobs to the jobless; this was the moment when the rise of the oceans began to slow and our planet began to heal; this was the moment when we ended a war and secured our nation and restored our image as the last, best hope on Earth.”

That’s a pretty quick step from an election to nirvana, and Obama’s opponents would like to turn such oratory against him. No one does it more effectively than radio host Rush Limbaugh, with his judo-master sense for his foes’ vulnerabilities. Limbaugh rarely refers to Obama by his name. Instead, he drops his baritone half an octave and calls him “the messiah.”

## 3. The Novice

OBAMA’S CRITICS TEND TO PAINT HIM two ways—related portraits but subtly different. The first is a picture of an empty suit, a man who reads pretty speeches full of gossamer rhetoric. “Just words,” as Senator Hillary Clinton put it.

And it’s true that Obama doesn’t have a thick record of businesses he has built or governments he has run. For one thing, he has moved around too much. The restlessness in his résumé is striking: two years at Occidental College, two years at Columbia University, a year in business, three years as a community organizer and then law school. Obama’s four two-year terms in the Illinois state senate are his version of permanence, but in two of those terms, he was busy running for higher office.

Voters accustomed to evaluating governors and generals may have a hard time

deciding what value to place on a stint of “organizing.” But it was surely real work. Reading Obama’s account of his efforts to organize the residents in a single Chicago neighborhood, with weeks of toil going into staging a single meeting, is like watching a man dig the Panama Canal with a Swiss Army knife.

As for his conventional training, friends of Obama’s like to point out that 12 years as a lawmaker is more experience than Abraham Lincoln, the original beanpole from Illinois, had in 1860. They note that the issues Obama is most drawn to—heath-care reform, juvenile justice, poverty—aren’t the easiest. They tell the story of his artful arm-twisting and cajolery in the Illinois senate on behalf of bills to reform campaign-finance laws and require police to videotape interrogations. Obama worked his colleagues one by one, on the floor, on the basketball court, at the poker table, and managed to pass some difficult legislation. “He’s unique in his ability to deal with extremely complex issues, to reach across the aisle and to deal with diverse people” one Republican colleague, McCain supporter Kirk Dillard, told the *Wall Street Journal*.

That wasn’t enough to impress Clinton in the primaries. She enjoyed noting that Obama was chairman of a Senate subcommittee yet had never convened a substantive hearing. John McCain’s campaign will not be any more dazzled. In a sense, the question of Obama’s preparation hinges on data that are still being gathered, because his greatest accomplishment is this unfolding campaign. For a man given to Zen-like circularities—“We are the change we seek”—the best proof that he can unite people to solve problems might be his ability to unite them to win an election.

## 4. The Radical

OTHERS BELIEVE OBAMA IS LIKE THE clever wooden offering of the Greeks to Trojans: something that appears to be a gift on the outside but is cunningly dangerous within. They find in his background and in what he leaves unsaid telltale signs of a

radical, Obama has worked on education issues in Chicago with William Ayers and has visited the home of Ayers and his wife Bernadette Dohrn. Both were leaders of the violent, leftist Weather Underground. But the indictment of Obama framed by his opponents starts years earlier in Hawaii, with the black man who told Obama that a true friendship with his white grandfather wasn't possible. The man's name was Frank Marshall Davis, and in the 1930s, '40s and early '50s he was a well-known poet, journalist and civil rights and labor activist. Like his friend Paul Robeson and others, Davis perceived the Soviet Union as a "staunch foe of racism" (as he later put it in his memoirs), and at one point he joined the Communist Party. "I worked with all kinds of groups," Davis explained. "My sole criterion was this: Are you with me in my determination to wipe out white supremacy?"

The conservative group Accuracy in Media (AIM) is eager to paint the radical picture. In press releases and website articles, AIM calls Davis "Obama's Communist Mentor," although by the time they met, Davis had been out of politics for decades, and "mentor" may exaggerate his role in the young man's life. Still, it's clear that Obama did seek advice from the old man and that what he got was undiluted. "You're not going to college to get educated. You're going there to get trained," Davis once warned Obama. "They'll train you so good, you'll start believing what they tell you about equal opportunity and the American way and all that's \_\_\_." Did the future candidate take this to heart? Not according to him. "It made me smile," Obama recalls, "thinking back on Frank and his old Black Power dashiki self. In some ways he was as incurable as my mother, as certain in his faith, living in the same '60s time warp."

Obama's memoir displays more familiarity with the ideas of the far left than most American politicians would advertise. His interest in African independence movements led him to the seminal work of Frantz Fanon, a Marxist sociologist, and he speaks in passing of attending "socialist conferences" at the Cooper Union in New York City. But as Obama told TIME, this was in the Reagan years, and he was also reading works by conservative giants like Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek. He browsed among the ideologues but never bought in, he said. "I was always suspicious of dogma and the excesses of the left and the right."

Not all Obama critics see red, of course. Some merely believe he is more liberal than he claims to be. They cite a *National Journal* study, which Obama disputes, that rated him the most liberal member of the U.S. Senate, and they aren't dissuaded by the candidate's recent positions in favor of

gun owners and an electronic surveillance bill loathed by civil libertarians.

There is another Trojan-horse interpretation just below the radar. It is the idea that a man named Barack Hussein Obama might be hiding a Muslim identity. Obama has tackled this dozens of times. His Kenyan grandfather was indeed a Muslim; his father espoused no faith; Obama attended a Muslim school in Indonesia for a time as a boy because that's where he lived—Indonesia is a Muslim country. He believed in no religion until he moved to Chicago as a grown man and was baptized Christian by Wright. As campaign spokesman Robert Gibbs puts it, "His Christian pastor and this Muslim thing—how can he have problems with both at the same time? Pick one."

But that's the problem with having five faces. There's more than one to choose from. The "secret Muslim" rumors about Obama may be scurrilous, but they survived the sudden fame of Obama's card-carrying Christian pastor. A recent poll found that 12% of Americans believe them.

## 5. The Future

BACK UP A FEW PARAGRAPHS AND LOOK again at something Obama wrote in his memoir. It's that passing reference to his mother living in a "60s time warp." No presidential nominee since John F. Kennedy has so lightly dismissed those turbulent years. What could the Summer of Love have meant to a 6-year-old in Hawaii, or Woodstock to an 8-year-old in Indonesia? The Pill, Vietnam, race riots, prayer in school and campus unrest—forces like these and the culture clashes they unleashed have dominated American politics for more than 40 years. But Obama approaches these forces historically, anthropologically—and in his characteristic doctor-with-a-notepad style. In *The Audacity of Hope*, he writes about the culture wars in the same faraway tone he might use for the Peloponnesian Wars. ("By the time the '60s rolled around, many mainstream Protestant and Catholic leaders had concluded, etc.) These fights belong to that peculiar category of the past known as stuff your parents cared about.

"I think that the ideological battles of the '60s have continued to shape our politics for too long," Obama told TIME. "The average baby boomer, I think, has long gotten past some of these abstract arguments about Are you left? Are you right? Are you Big Government? Small government? You know, people are very practical. What they are interested in is, Can you deliver schools that work?"

This aspect of Obama—the promise to "break out of some of those old arguments"—speaks powerfully to many younger Americans, who have turned out in record numbers to vote and canvass for

## Convention 24/7

For constant updates and behind-the-scenes views from TIME's political reporters and photographers, go to [time.com](http://time.com)



- 1. Black Man
- 2. Healer
- 3. Novice
- 4. Radical
- 5. The Future

 All of the above

him. Obama is the first national politician to reflect their widespread feeling that time is marching forward but politics is not, that the baby boomers in the interest groups and the media are indeed trapped in a time warp, replaying their stalemated arguments year after year. The theme recurs in conversations with Obama supporters: He just feels like something new.

Obama on the stump is constantly underlining this idea. As he told a recent town-hall meeting in a New Mexico high school gym, "We can't keep doing the things we've been doing and expect a different result." It's a message his campaign organization has taken to heart. Obama's is the first truly wired campaign, seamlessly integrating the networking power of technology with the flesh-and-blood passion of a social movement. His people get the fact that the Internet is more than television with a keyboard attached. It is the greatest tool ever invented for connecting people to others who share their interests. For decades, the Democratic Party has relied on outside allies to deliver its votes—unions, black churches, single-interest liberal groups. With some 2 million volunteers and contributors in his online database, Obama is perhaps a bigger force now than any of these. McCain may perceive Obama's enormous celebrity as a weakness—workhorse vs. show horse—but celebrity has its benefits. Obama will accept the nomination in front of a crowd of 76,000 in Denver's professional-football stadium, and the price of a free ticket is to register as a campaign volunteer.

Each of the first four Obama faces presents risks for his campaign, but the fifth prospect offers a way around many of them. If he can get through a general-election campaign without enlisting in the culture wars, he gains credibility as something new. That in turn might keep him from becoming mired in the trap of identity politics. Branding himself as the face of the future can neutralize the issue of inexperience. And if he can build his own political network strong enough to win a national election, he will lend credibility to his almost mystical belief in the power of organizing.

Obama's banners tout **CHANGE WE CAN BELIEVE IN**, and this slogan cuts to the heart of the task before him. The key word isn't *change*, despite what legions of commentators have been saying all year. The key is *believe*. With gas prices up and home prices down; with Washington impotent to tackle issues like health care, energy and Social Security; with politics mired in a fifty-fifty standoff between two unpopular parties—plenty of Americans are ready to try a new cure. But will they come to believe that this new doctor, this charismatic mystery, this puzzle, is the one they can trust to prescribe it? ■

## At HQ. The collegial gang around Obama has a rule: 'No drama'

BY KAREN TUMULTY



### The Strategist

Journalist turned political consultant **David Axelrod**, far left, shaped Obama's message of hope and change and has been its most devout believer and defender—even when Obama has slipped in the polls.



Veteran political consultant **Anita Dunn** oversees the operation that constitutes

the closest thing the Obama campaign has to a war room, combining message, research and policy.



Imposing and instantly recognizable at 6 ft. 4 in., **Reggie Love** is the "body man"—responsible for everything from Obama's briefing books to his protein bars—and a regular basketball partner.



Policy director **Heather Higginbottom** has been in charge of shaping a domestic agenda that she has described as a plan to undo Bush Administration policies.



A top executive with her family's Hyatt hotel empire, **Penny Pritzker** is national finance chair of what has been the most successful fund-raising operation ever seen in presidential politics.



### The Manager

Obama has said his low-key campaign manager, **David Plouffe**, below, a former congressional aide and Axelrod's business partner, "never gets any credit but has built the best political organization in the country."



Communications chief **Robert Gibbs** served the same role in Obama's Senate office and in his 2004 Senate campaign. Gibbs is usually the first line of response in a political crisis.



Obama says he's his Senate chief of staff, **Pete Rouse**, now working full time for the campaign, is "as smart and savvy a person as there is on Capitol Hill but is completely ego-free."

Toya's problem is so severe that she has the best  
doctors in the country working on it.



Toya's problem is that her parents can't afford health insurance.

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**AMA**  [VoiceForTheUninsured.org](http://VoiceForTheUninsured.org)

# 'We've got to make sure that people understand the choices that are at stake.'

—Barack Obama

**I**N THE DAYS BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN Denver—and as he began to trail John McCain in some key battleground-state polls—Barack Obama seemed to be trying to sharpen his message. He spoke more directly to the economic concerns of struggling Americans and dialed up a rougher criticism of his rival. Nursing a cold that he blamed on spending his recent Hawaiian vacation with a houseful of children, Obama talked to TIME's Karen Tumulty and David Von Drehle after a recent town-hall meeting in Albuquerque, N.M.

### Your speeches seem to be getting far tougher.

Well, it's getting to be crunch time. Now is the time where people are going to start paying attention, leading up into the convention, and we've got to make sure that people understand the choices that are at stake ... I think what we've been getting from John McCain has been nonstop attacks against me and my character, which have distracted people from the issues. What I want to do is make sure the people understand [that] here are the choices: that you've got a candidate who is presenting policies that are identical to what George Bush has been doing for the last eight years, [and] you've got somebody who intends to fundamentally change those policies so that they work for the average American fam-

ily. And if people understand what those choices are, I think we will win.

### There are Democrats who are nervous that you are not tough enough for the general election.

I don't think that's just about me. I think they are congenitally nervous because we lost a bunch of presidential elections where people felt that we should have won. But keep in mind that whatever concerns people have about me, my campaign in particular, we heard those all through



the primaries. And the reason—as I said in this town-hall meeting—that I think we're going to be successful is, it's not about me. It's about the American people. It's about the fact that their wages and incomes have flatlined, their costs have gone up, they are losing their homes. They are losing their health care. They are worried about the future. And the Republicans are going to want to try to focus this election on me. What I want to do is focus this election on the American people and who can actually deliver for them.

### There has also been some criticism that you've helped fuel that idea that the election is about you—for example, with the huge rallies.

I give full credit to the Karl Rove acolytes who are working for John McCain, and one of their general strategies is to try to turn strengths into weaknesses. The enthusiasm and involvement at the grass roots that we've seen in my campaign, I consider a strength. That's one of the reasons we are able to compete in 18 [battleground] states. But those crowds and those rallies, those people have not come out because of my speechmaking. They've come out because they understand what's at stake in this election. And that's not going to change, and [when] we have small town halls or we have roundtables like we

**'I'm not afraid to have folks around me who complement my strengths and who are independent.'**



had this morning, whatever the venue, the message is going to be the same: that somebody needs to be fighting for America's families in Washington. We've got to stop having the agenda set by special interests and lobbyists, and I'm the person who's best equipped to bring that change about.

#### **What is your choice of a running mate going to tell voters about you?**

Hopefully, the same thing that my campaign has told the American people about me. That I think through big decisions, I get a lot of input from a lot of people and that, ultimately, I try to surround myself with people who are about getting the job done and not about ego and self-aggrandizement, getting their names in the press, but are focused on what's

best for the American people. I think people will see that I'm not afraid to have folks around me who complement my strengths and who are independent. I'm not a believer in a government of yes-men. I think one of the failures of the early Bush Administration was being surrounded by people who were unwilling to deliver bad news or who were prone to simply feed the President information that confirmed his own preconceptions.

**You grew up a child of the world, and as you've said, you have "brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents." How does it affect your view of America's place in the world, the idea of American exceptionalism?**



#### **Full Transcript**

To read the entire Interview with Obama or listen to the podcast, go to [time.com/obamaspeaks](http://time.com/obamaspeaks)

If anything, it has reinforced my belief in American exceptionalism. One of the things that happens when you live overseas is you realize how special America is—our values, our ideals, our Constitution, our rule of law, the idea of equality and opportunity. Those are things that we often take for granted, and it's only when you get out of the country that you see the majority of the world doesn't enjoy those same privileges.

What I do think it also provides is a sense that the world really is smaller than we sometimes think and that the aspirations of people around the world, although not always expressed in identical ways, really aren't all that different. People want work that supports their families. People want their children to do better than they are doing. They want some sense of security. And so when I approach foreign policy, I work from the basis that there are some universal hopes and dreams and fears that people carry with them. But then, in our ability to shape a better world, we've got to be honest and mindful of the fact that different countries are at different phases, have different cultural histories. And if we think that we can just plunge in and, say, create a democracy from scratch in five years, then we're badly mistaken.

**You have a powerful belief in the idea of bringing people together, of getting them to trust one another. That sounds like gossamer to some people.** You know, it is very interesting. I think that the commentary about me kind of swings back and forth between this wildly idealistic, pie-in-the-sky, green-behind-the-ears kid who doesn't know how tough the world is and this fiercely calculating politician who

has been ruthlessly pursuing power over the last several years. You know, neither caricature is true.

Look, I believe people are fundamentally good. But I also believe there's evil in the world. I believe that it is better for us to talk than not talk and that most human beings are motivated by the same things, their hopes and fears, regardless of race or religion. And if we can get people to recognize themselves in each other, then we're more likely to make good decisions.

But I'm also aware of the fact that history has placed people in very different situations, with long memories of conflict and hatred. And there are bad people in the world. And ultimately, power is decisive in a lot of decisions, not simply who's got the best ideas.

And so the challenge I think for the next President is to harness the essential ideals of the American people, the essential optimism of the American people, to inspire people to try to do better in the world but to do so with a clear-eyed gaze, to understand that these things are not going to be easy, that there are fights that are going to have to be fought and that at the end of the conversation, there are still going to be disagreements. And I intend to be on the winning side and have more power than the other side in terms of making the best judgments about where I think the country goes. I want to be bipartisan, but there are going to be some things where you just don't agree with the other side. There are philosophical differences. Being realistic about how hard it is to make change for the benefit of the American people and still also be idealistic about the things we can do better, that's how we got here. That is how women got the right to vote. That's how African Americans got citizenship. That's how workers got the 40-hour workweek. That's how we're going to solve the problems that we face right now.



# A Working-Class Hero?

Obama needs to win over voters who don't drive hybrids. It could be a long uphill fight

**NOTHING MAKES ME FEEL SORRIER FOR** the once powerful local bosses of each political party than the spectacle of a modern nominating convention. In their glory days, these wily neighborhood sloggers would listen to speeches, size up the appeal of each candidate against home-town tastes, wheel, deal and finally make the thousands of individual decisions that would eventually choose the nominee.

Today there is only one big decision to be made, and the job belongs to a TV programmer, not a political boss. Conventions are little more than soundstages now. Everything from the backdrop to the musical choices asks the question, Who is the convention trying to reach?

**For Barack Obama and the Democrats,** it all comes down to this: Should Obama try to win by running up big numbers among the young liberals and well-off independents who cheer his hip style of designer politics? Or should he concentrate on recapturing the older and decidedly unhip working-class voters who rejected him in droves during the primaries?

It is not an easy puzzle. From its beginning, Obama's impressive campaign has reached upmarket. His tone is perfectly middlebrow, which has made him irresistible to the wine-and-cheese lovers of the self-consciously sensible center. Republicans saw troubling signs of this way back in January's Iowa caucuses, when they discovered, to their shock, that Obama was actually pulling some moderate Republican voters away from the GOP caucus. His success in Iowa has been so complete that it may abandon

its swing-state tendencies and move firmly into Obama's column. And it's not just Iowa. Last month I saw a poll showing Obama with a surprisingly strong lead in Detroit's wealthiest suburban county. If he can ride the Democratic surge this year while scoring big with independents, the race will be his.

Still, there are risks. John McCain will make his own claim on those independents. While Obama is likely to pick up

exchange knowing glances and mutter to one another about how young this hotshot is. Somebody makes a cynical and unkind remark about affirmative action. Deep down, they think he'd rather hit the executive gym for a cardio workout during lunch hour than share a cheesesteak and beer with the hourly workforce. And they ask one another, Why did he change his name in college back to Barack? What's wrong with Barry?

**Unless Obama can break down the wall between him and these Barrycratic voters, it will be very hard for him to seize the game-winning electoral prizes of Michigan and Ohio. The convention message and optics would be a very good place to start.**

To that end, many of the old-school party regulars now assigned to loyalty wave HOPE and CHANGE signs for the TV cameras in Denver would dearly love to see Obama switch out some of his "together we can" endive salad for a big populist pile of economic red meat. Last week Ohio governor Ted Strickland called for Obama to "speak more clearly and specifically about the kitchen-table, bread-and-butter issues."

While Obama has to be careful not to delve too far into Strickland's brand of Stone Age union economics, reconnecting with basic Democratic economic issues is good advice. Obama cannot reclaim the lunch-pail wing of the Democratic Party simply by treating Hillary Clinton like a monarch at the convention. These voters are not hers to deliver; Obama has to earn them back on his own with a convention that reaches out to those hardworking Americans who don't drive a Prius, don't listen to NPR, don't buy syrah—and assure them that it is still very much their Democratic Party too. ■

the votes of almost everybody who voted in the Democratic primaries, there are plenty of older white working-class voters who are still far from sold on him, if not downright suspicious.

Democratic strategists often make the mistake of assuming that these white, economically upscale voters will automatically make their ballot choices on the basis of class. In fact, many vote on culture. Obama's academic style is much of his problem. For many, Obama reminds them of the Ivy League whiz kids they've dealt with at work during the latest downsizing. They look at him and see another bloodless young achiever coming down from the top floor to fix the ailing machine-tool company. They listen to his polished pitch in the employee cafeteria, and he wins some converts. But after he is finished, a few old-timers



**Obama cannot reclaim the lunch-pail wing of the Democratic Party simply by treating Hillary Clinton like a monarch at the convention**

*Murphy is a consultant who has worked for Arnold Schwarzenegger, Mitt Romney and Jeb Bush. In 2000 he was senior strategist for Senator John McCain's presidential race*



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★ THE DEMOCRATS

# On the Trail With Obama. A candid look behind the scenes

## Caught in thought

Aboard a plane to Orlando, Fla., the candidate works on a speech he's due to deliver the next day at the VFW's national convention. The artwork behind Obama was done by a staffer's son, who painted the picture just before the final primaries

Photographs for  
TIME by Callie Shell



#### **Family time**

Obama watches Nathan's annual hot-dog-eating contest on television with his wife Michelle and daughters Malia, 10, far left, and Sasha, 7, while they wait for a crowd to arrive at a Fourth of July picnic in Butte, Montana.



# RIZ



### **Clearing the bar**

*Before a campaign event at the University of Montana in Missoula, Obama spied staffers doing chin-ups. He walked over, asked how many they were doing—two each—asked, “That’s all?” then proceeded to do three himself before walking on*



# The Family Obama

With roots in Kansas, Kenya and beyond, the candidate is a genealogist's fantasy

BY AMANDA RIPLEY



## Ancestors

Obama's family tree has deep roots in American history. Distant cousin **Gabriel Duvall**, lower right, was a Supreme Court Justice, a friend of Thomas Jefferson's and the owner of 37 slaves. Obama also comes from a long line of farmers, including great-great-grandparents **Jacob Mackey Dunham** and **Louisa Eliza Stroup Dunham**, lower left, in Indiana and great-great-grandparents **Thomas Creekmore McCurry** and **Margaret Belle Wright McCurry**, top right, in Kansas. Great-grandfather **Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham Sr.**, top middle, named after the poet, was a Kansas mechanic. During the Civil War, great-great-grandmother **Elizabeth Edna Creekmore McCurry**, top left, lost a son to Confederate raiders.



## A Common Gene Pool

Obama is distantly related to Vice President Dick Cheney and President George W. Bush, going back to the 1600s.



## True Hawaiian

Obama, his mother and her parents had a strong bond to Hawaii—a diverse and largely tolerant place where he spent most of his youth.



## Grandparents

Stanley and Madelyn Dunham raised Obama during his teens while his mother was working in Indonesia. Born in Kansas, the grandparents lived in four states before settling in Hawaii. Their prairie stoicism was offset by a wide-open curiosity about the world. In Kenya, **Sarah Obama**, below, raised Obama's father. Obama has visited her several times.



## Mother

Obama's mother **S. Ann Soetoro** was unusually fearless for her time. A quiet, cerebral girl from Kansas, she moved to Hawaii with her parents after high school. There she married an African student; Obama was born when she was 18. Three years

later, she filed for divorce. She went on to marry another foreign student, **Lolo Soetoro**, left, from Indonesia. They were divorced in 1980. She got a Ph.D. in anthropology and became a respected expert on microfinance and Indonesia. She died of cancer in 1995.



## Wife

**Michelle Obama**, right, 44, met her husband at Sidley & Austin, a high-end Chicago law firm, where she had gone to work after graduating from Harvard Law School. She had a more traditional background than Barack, having grown up in a modest two-parent home on Chicago's South Side, and her stability appealed to him. After they met, she left corporate law to work for the city of Chicago. She has spent most of her career at the University of Chicago. Before devoting herself to campaigning, she was vice president of community affairs at the university's medical center.



## Father

**Barack Obama Sr.** was born in Kenya and got a scholarship to the University of Hawaii, where he met Obama's mother. He was ambitious, with a booming voice and a brilliant mind. When his son was 1, Obama Sr. left to study at Harvard. He later returned to Kenya with grand plans but struggled with political and tribal barriers and alcoholism. In all, Obama Sr. had at least three wives, including first wife **Kezia Obama**, above, who died in a car accident in 1982. He had returned to Hawaii to visit only once, when his son was 10.



## Siblings

Of Obama's seven half brothers and half sisters living around the world, he is closest to

**Maya Soetoro-Ng**, below, his mother's daughter from her second marriage, and **Auma Obama**, top, his father's daughter from a first marriage. Soetoro-Ng teaches history at a girls' school in Honolulu, and Auma works for a charity in Kenya. **Malik (Roy) Obama**, above, Auma's brother, was best man at Barack's wedding. He lives in Kenya.



## Daughters

**Malia**, below right, 10, and **Sasha**, 7, live on the South Side and attend private school. Obama's mother-in-law **Marian Robinson**, below far left, watches them when their parents are on the trail.



## Brothers and Sisters

Obama has seven half-siblings living on three continents. Another half brother died in a motorcycle accident.

7

Barack Obama  
Barack Obama

## Namesake

Named after his father, Obama went by the nickname Barry when he was young. Barack means "the blessed one" in Swahili.

# 'You Need Me Involved.'

## How a political novice became a linchpin of the campaign—and a part of history

BY AMY SULLIVAN/COLUMBIA



**Get organized** Gunn used his skills and experience in South Carolina to deliver 8 of every 10 black votes for Obama in the primary

Photographs for TIME by Bryan Meltz

ANTON GUNN IS A FIRST-TIME DELEGATE to the Democratic National Convention from South Carolina, and he has never so much as watched a political convention on television before. Even Barack Obama's famous keynote address in 2004 didn't grab his attention (he sheepishly admits he still hasn't listened to it). In fact, until two years ago, when Gunn ran for a state house seat in Columbia and lost by 298 votes, he'd never been involved in electoral politics.

Obama's candidacy has brought a wave of new voters and volunteers into the Democratic Party, but even among them, Gunn, 35, stands out. In addition to being a Democratic delegate and a candidate once again for the state legislature, he now has a line on his political résumé few can match: political director for the Obama campaign in South Carolina, the state that more than any other launched the Illinois Senator's successful candidacy.

It surprises no one more than Gunn, a man who, when he first heard the name "Barack Obama" from some community-organizer friends in 2002, promptly forgot it. "I didn't even think he was African American," says Gunn. "The name sounded foreign to me." Two years later, he connected the name with the face when Obama came to his church to campaign for Inez Tenenbaum, then Democratic candidate for Senate.

In early 2007, having lost his first campaign, Gunn wasn't quite sure what to do. A University of South Carolina graduate and former Gamecocks offensive lineman, he had been involved with community development for the previous decade. And since his younger brother Cherone was killed in the U.S.S. Cole bombing in 2000, Gunn had become even more devoted to public service. Then, returning from a trip to Washington, he wandered into a bookstore at Reagan National Airport and saw a copy of Obama's second book, *The Audacity of Hope*. He'd heard Obama's name bandied about with those of other possible presidential candidates but hadn't taken it seriously. "That skinny guy I saw at church two years ago?" Gunn remembers think-

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**Getting ready for Denver** Gunn, left, talks with longtime Columbia councilman and fellow Obama delegate E.W. Cromartie, center, and chef Barry (Fathback) Walker at Mac's on Main, Walker's soul-food restaurant. During election season, Mac's is a can't-miss stop for candidates in search of Democratic primary votes—and the state's best peach cobbler

ing. "He wants to do what?" He decided to buy the book and find out what this Obama guy was all about.

The next thing he knew, Gunn was halfway through the book and had missed his flight back to South Carolina. He recognized in Obama's writing the same ideas about power and justice that had infused his own community-organizing. And he heard the voice of a man who was confident about his beliefs. By the time he had finished the book and arrived home, Gunn knew two things: "This dude has got to run for President—and I have to help him."

At a time when half the Democratic world seemed to be trying to get onto Obama's not-yet-official campaign, Gunn found that his calls to the Senator's offices went unreturned. Finally, he placed one more call to Chicago and laid it on the line. "I may not know a whole lot about politics, but I know a lot about South Carolina," he remembers saying in his message. "If you want to run for President and South Carolina's going to be an early-primary state, you need to have me involved."

The next day, a voice-mail message from Obama himself was waiting on his phone. The two met in Washington a few weeks later, and Gunn became his state's political director. Using his organizing skills and contacts, Gunn set about building a grass-roots movement that empowered volunteers. When they learned that many black voters didn't realize Obama was African American, the campaign developed a seven-minute DVD about Obama's life that supporters could play in their living rooms for friends and neighbors. "We told them it belonged to them," Gunn says,

"that Barack's success would depend on how much ownership they took."

When primary day arrived in South Carolina, it was a must-win moment for Obama. His strong start in the Iowa caucuses had surprised a lot of people and shown African Americans that his quest just might be possible. But then came the stumble in New Hampshire that allowed Hillary Clinton back into the race. South Carolina was the first contest in a state with a sizable black population—and on that day, African Americans gave him more than 8 in every 10 of their votes. "It all started here," Gunn said with a smile, leaning back in his chair in the lobby of a downtown Columbia hotel. "The process may have started in Iowa. But if we didn't do what we did in the exact way that we did it, I daresay we may have had a different outcome."

For African Americans in South Carolina, the tale of how they helped Obama win the nomination has already become the stuff of legend. James Clyburn, Gunn's Congressman and a fellow delegate, is a

veteran of the civil rights movement who never thought he'd see a black presidential nominee in his lifetime. But while he's proud of Obama, he's also proud of his generation for making Obama possible. "We were standing on shoulders," Clyburn says. "We had a responsibility to develop strong shoulders for someone else to stand on."

The tug of history in the making—and a strong sense of community pride—explains why you hear many African Americans use the pronoun *we* to describe Obama's candidacy, as in "When we win ..." Those forces explain why older men who have never become attached to politicians wear hats emblazoned with Obama's name. And why you can find young men sporting hip-hop T-shirts that bear the face of Obama instead of Biggie or Tupac. Obama has given millions of black Americans a reason to be proud. But he has also expanded their sense of the possible. And so, while some of his older colleagues talk about their fears of what could happen if Obama loses in November, Gunn is optimistic. As far as he's concerned, the change has already taken place. "Whether you like Obama or not," he says, "if you believe in democracy, you have to be excited about what he's done."

Gunn cannot imagine what it will be like to be in Denver's Invesco Stadium watching the man he calls "the hip-hop candidate" become the first African American to accept a major-party presidential nomination. But he does know that he'll feel a sense of ownership. That, and a twinge of regret that he's missing the season opener of his beloved Gamecocks the same night. But for the first time in his life, Gunn would rather be at a political convention. ■

## 'Barack's not Colin Powell. He doesn't know much about the Beatles—but he knows the Sugar Hill Gang. He's the first hip-hop candidate.'

—ANTON GUNN, FIRST-TIME DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION DELEGATE

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# The Hotshots to Watch. You may not know all these up-and-coming Democrats yet. You soon will

BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL

**The Prairie Cyclone**

STEPHANIE HERSETH SANDLIN

**S**TEPHANIE HERSETH SANDLIN, 37, comes from a political dynasty: her grandfather was South Dakota's governor, her grandmother was secretary of state, and her father spent 20 years in the legislature. While in elementary school, she would often tag along with her father to the floor of the state assembly. "She'd sit there for hours, well beyond what a normal attention span would be for any 7- or 8-year-old," recalls her dad, Lars Herseth. "She was just fascinated." After that early internship, she went to Georgetown and earned three degrees, including one in law. She says she decided to forgo a Washington law career after former Senator Tom Daschle invited her to a leadership workshop in the Black Hills, but it is likely that genes played an influential role too. Elected to South Dakota's lone House seat in 2004, Herseth Sandlin has focused on energy, agriculture, biofuels and rural access to broadband. Though moderate in her politics and reserved in person, she can roar on the stump. Her fiery speeches have made her popular at party events across the West and led to speculation that she might one day run for President. For now, Herseth Sandlin's ambitions remain very close to home: she and husband Max Sandlin, a former Texas Democratic Congressman, are expecting their first child in December.

**The Iraq Vet**

PATRICK MURPHY

**A**RMY CAPTAIN PATRICK MURPHY was patrolling Baghdad's "Ambush Alley" in August 2003 in a humvee with no windows or doors in 138°F (59°C) heat when he realized, *I really need to change our foreign policy*. After seven months in Iraq, Murphy came home outraged at what he viewed as a bungled operation; he blamed U.S. policy for playing a role in the deaths of 19 fellow paratroopers. "We were dramatically shorthanded," he says. "We should've had 35,000 troops for the 1.5 million Iraqis that we were responsible for in south-central Baghdad, and there



**The young guns** Clockwise from top left: Herseth Sandlin, Murphy, Davis, Newsom, Wasserman Schultz

were only 3,500 of us." With just \$322 in his bank account, Murphy decided to challenge a popular Republican Congressman in his home district northeast of Philadelphia in 2006. Murphy won by 1,518 votes. In Congress, he has championed fellow veterans, pushing a deadline for pulling out of Iraq that garnered a White House veto. He's worked to make U.S. contracting more efficient and to require telephone companies to help soldiers retain their mobile phones while deployed overseas. He endorsed Barack Obama in Au-

gust 2007, though his district voted 63% for Hillary Clinton months later. "He's got Senator written all over him," says James Carville, a Democratic strategist. Murphy, 34, just laughs off the buzz and notes that he has to get re-elected this fall. "I've got a tough race ahead of me."

**The Mother of Three**

DEBBIE WASSERMAN SCHULTZ

**O**VERKILL IS NOT A WORD IN DEBBIE Wasserman Schultz's vocabulary: applying for her first job out of grad school, Wasserman Schultz sent out more than 500 résumés. Florida state representative Peter Deutsch was so impressed, he not only hired her but also persuaded her to run for his seat four years later. She knocked on 25,000 doors over six months and beat a field of five others to become, at age 26, the youngest woman voter ever sent to Tallahassee. "She's a very, very hard worker," Deutsch says. Twelve years later in 2004, she ran for U.S. Congress from her district north of Miami, winning easily with 70% of the vote. In the House, the mother of three has sponsored bills to tighten child-safety laws concerning swimming pools and restrict imported toys that might be tainted with lead. Her canny grasp of politics and a take-no-chances vote-counting style won her a leadership post, first as a deputy whip and then as a "cardinal" when she became the youngest subcommittee boss on the powerful Appropriations Committee. "That was an overwhelming, oh-my-God moment," Wasserman

Schultz, now 41, recalls. Such a rapid rise disgruntled more senior colleagues—the next youngest cardinals are approaching their 10th terms—but the \$17 million she raised for her colleagues in the 2006 elections has helped smooth things over. Observes House Speaker Nancy Pelosi: "It is a testament to her intelligence and diligence that she has risen so far so fast after just a few years in the House."

**The Alabama Comer**

ARTUR DAVIS

**W**HEN ARTUR DAVIS WAS 10, his mother took him to the Alabama state capitol building, which also happened to be the first capitol of the

Confederacy. Surveying all the faded photographs, he decided he'd grow up to be a political reporter and someday cover the President. Things haven't worked out that way. Like a rocket, Davis attended Harvard, where he got two degrees, then clerked for a federal judge and spent four years as an assistant U.S. Attorney in Alabama. He first ran for Congress in 2000 but never "caught on, for whatever reason" in his heavily black district. Undeterred, Davis prepared for a rematch while serving as a political commentator on a local Fox-television affiliate. In 2002 he ran again and beat a popular incumbent with 56% of the vote. In his six years in Washington, Davis, 41, has blocked cuts to public-housing programs and minority land-grant colleges and co-authored a bill to build an interstate highway through Black Belt counties. "Our state is going to be an enormous challenge for Obama in the general election. I have no illusions about that," says Davis, who endorsed Obama in the primary. "But just as Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice helped pave the way for Barack Obama, Barack Obama's candidacy is paving the way for other black candidates to run in their states." Davis' eyes are increasingly on the governor's mansion.

## Next Stop, Sacramento?

GAVIN NEWSOM

**S**AN FRANCISCO MAYOR GAVIN NEWSOM may be known nationally as the patron saint of gay marriage, but back home, Newsom has built his career on things like buying fleets of hybrid vehicles and installing windmills near the Golden Gate Bridge. He has barred the city from buying bottled water, joined the Kyoto Protocol—an international global-warming treaty spurned by President George W. Bush—and brought down unemployment while boosting tourism and new businesses. When the rising cost of living kept pushing out blue collar workers, Newsom spent \$500 million on public housing. After two tax increases were rejected at the polls, he balanced the city's budget by folding six departments into one and eliminating 1,500 city jobs. Not everything—such as the windmills, a new cruise-ship terminal and citywide wi-fi—has worked. "In the private sector, leaders are willing to take risks and find innovative solutions," Newsom, 40, says. "In the public sector, politicians are risk-averse. They're afraid of trying something new because they might see a bad headline the next day. That's a problem." Twice married, including earlier this year to an actress and software heiress, Newsom announced last month that he's forming an exploratory committee to run for governor of California. ■

# The Really Young Guns. Obama has energized twentysomethings. Those under 20? They're nuts about him

BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

DAVID GILBERT-PEDERSON DOES A PRETTY good impression of a grizzled old pol. A delegate from Minneapolis and full-time Barack Obama field worker, he's on his fifth campaign, having cut his teeth working for Walter Mondale's brief Senate run back in 2002. Although he's on constant alert for surprise swift-boating attacks from the right, Gilbert-Pederson reports that Obama's operation is "one of the best that I've ever seen in a presidential race."

There's just one thing about him that doesn't fit the hard-boiled, seen-it-all image: Gilbert-Pederson isn't yet old enough to vote. At 17, he will be the youngest Democratic delegate in Denver—and one

age 36 and under, who seem to be organizing entire states via text messages.

Some of the most excited of these newcomers are, like Gilbert-Pederson, the very youngest. Homeschooled since ninth grade, mostly so he could spend more time campaigning, Gilbert-Pederson in 2006 started a Minneapolis branch of the Hip Hop Caucus, a voter-outreach group for young progressives. Touting the group in 2007 to dozens of cheering onlookers, he tried to quote Obama's 2004 DNC speech from memory, then ended with a call for canvassing: "Lend me your hands, lend me your ears, lend me your feet. We're gonna walk, we're gonna knock, we're gonna talk."

Since June, Gilbert-Pederson has been taking his own advice, making phone calls and going door-to-door for Obama in Minnesota, Iowa and New Hampshire. Balancing his social life and campaigning is a challenge, he says. At the convention, he hopes that e-mailing his constituents—those would include his parents, friends and the donors sending him to Denver—will "maintain my sanity."

Other young Denver delegates will also be busy keeping their networks linked in. Jason Rae, 21, of Rice Lake, Wis.—the party's youngest super-delegate, a co-chairman of the DNC Youth Council and a political-science student at Marquette University—says he has promised to call friends from the floor to "keep them in the process." It's the young wonk's version of holding up a cell phone at a rock concert so a far-away fan can listen.

Sean Stimmel, 19, a delegate from Los Alamos, N.M., will miss the first three days of his sophomore year at New Mexico Tech to blog from Denver for friends and donors. A year ago, Stimmel never read political news, but after a neighbor pushed him to volunteer for Obama, he is flirting with a political career of his own someday. Like Stimmel, Gilbert-Pederson says reaching other young voters will be key to an Obama victory. And when the convention and campaign are over? "On to adult life, I guess," he says.



Precocious pol Gilbert-Pederson, at 17 the youngest delegate, got his start making signs for Walter Mondale when he was 12

of several hundred millennials who will descend on a convention that boasts the most 36-and-under delegates in decades.

The children's crusade harks back—about 40 years back. In 1969, a few years before young voters embraced his presidential campaign, George McGovern spearheaded a rule that women, minorities and young people should be seated at the convention in proportion to their share of the population. It sounded great at the time, but for the next several decades, young voters didn't turn out in any numbers that their population share might have suggested. (McGovern got creamed.) That could change this year. Obama has energized millions of voters



# Nothing Unique About It

A new generation of African-American leaders is stepping up. Obama is just the best known

**THE FIRST TIME I EVER USED THE TERM post-civil rights to describe the new generation of African-American politicians I was studying, the Rev. Joseph Lowery hollered at me. He wanted to know, What in the devil does that mean?**

I have to admit that I had no good answer for the 86-year-old civil rights icon as we stood backstage last year at a banquet honoring the 50th anniversary of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas. Perhaps because it has been so meteoric, Barack Obama's ascendancy has made us lazy about our history and lazy about the language we use to describe our past as well as our present. The commentary is often breathless: It's the end of black politics, we declare. It's the beginning of black politics, we assert. It's the transformation of black politics, we decide.

**That last description comes closest to** being right. The Martin Luther King-era wave of activism Lowery helped lead was about demanding access to lunch counters, schoolhouse doors and voting booths, and accountability in the town squares that were the sites of lynchings and protests.

Obama's rise has demonstrated so far that a lot of that protest worked, and this latest wave of black politicians is living, breathing evidence of it. Only one generation removed from the protests their parents led, many are Ivy League graduates in their 30s, 40s and 50s who remember the 1960s—and even the 1970s—only from old video and the printed page.

But Obama is just one member of a generation of political leaders faced with a new task: honoring the contributions

of their forebears without alienating the broader, multiracial audiences they need to win. I've spent part of the past year tracking dozens of these rising stars and have concluded that anyone who thinks Obama is unique is not paying attention. Consider Newark, N.J., mayor Cory Booker. His troubled city is into its third generation of African-American political leadership but not necessarily the good kind. Its previous two black mayors—Kenneth Gibson



and Sharpe James—became ensnared in fraud and corruption prosecutions (Gibson was ultimately acquitted; James was not). Booker, 39, is something else entirely. A child of the New Jersey suburbs and a graduate of Stanford and Oxford, he faces an uphill battle in transforming Newark's troubled urban landscape.

Booker shares the metabolism of Washington mayor Adrian Fenty, a triathlete who recently waved away an ambulance after he tumbled from his bike near a city freeway. Fenty, 37, has demonstrated a Zelig-like ability to appear wherever cameras are rolling—whether at crime scenes or neighborhood block parties. But his boldest move came when he engineered a city-hall takeover of Washington's struggling public schools. He hired a no-nonsense outsider, Michelle Rhee, to reform the crumbling system; it's

a huge gamble politically, but the city's future could depend on its success.

San Francisco district attorney Kamala Harris, 43, is the first African American and first woman to hold her city's top law-enforcement post. The Howard University graduate spent several wintry days knocking on doors in Iowa for Obama. She comes to her activism honestly: her parents met at a Berkeley student protest. Another Obama backer is Massachu-

sets governor Deval Patrick, one of only two current African-American governors. Patrick, 52, shocked the commonwealth's political establishment in 2006 when he came out of nowhere to defeat a long favored Democrat in the primary and trounce an incumbent Republican lieutenant governor in the general election. His name is often floated in discussions of a potential Obama Cabinet, but Patrick says he plans to run for re-election in 2010.

**The Obama generation is just beginning** its run. South Carolina state representative Bakari Sellers is so young that when the picture on his office wall of him posing with Jesse

Jackson was taken in 1988, Sellers was just 4 years old. Now 23, he is the son of Cleveland Sellers, who was jailed for his role protesting South Carolina's infamous Orangeburg massacre, and is an ardent Obama supporter. Sellers arrived at the state capitol last year and is still studying for the bar, but he is already eyeing statewide office. If he wanted to follow Obama's lead, Sellers would not be eligible to run for President until 2020. For now, it's enough that, just as Jackson drained some of the shock from the idea of electing a black President 20 years ago, Obama's 2008 may take us—if not past civil rights—at least to another level of the debate.

Ifill is the host of *Washington Week on PBS*, a senior correspondent for the *NewsHour* and the author of the forthcoming *The Breakthrough: Politics and Race in the Age of Obama*

**The Obama generation is just beginning its run. When South Carolina lawmaker Bakari Sellers posed with Jesse Jackson in 1988, Sellers was just 4 years old**



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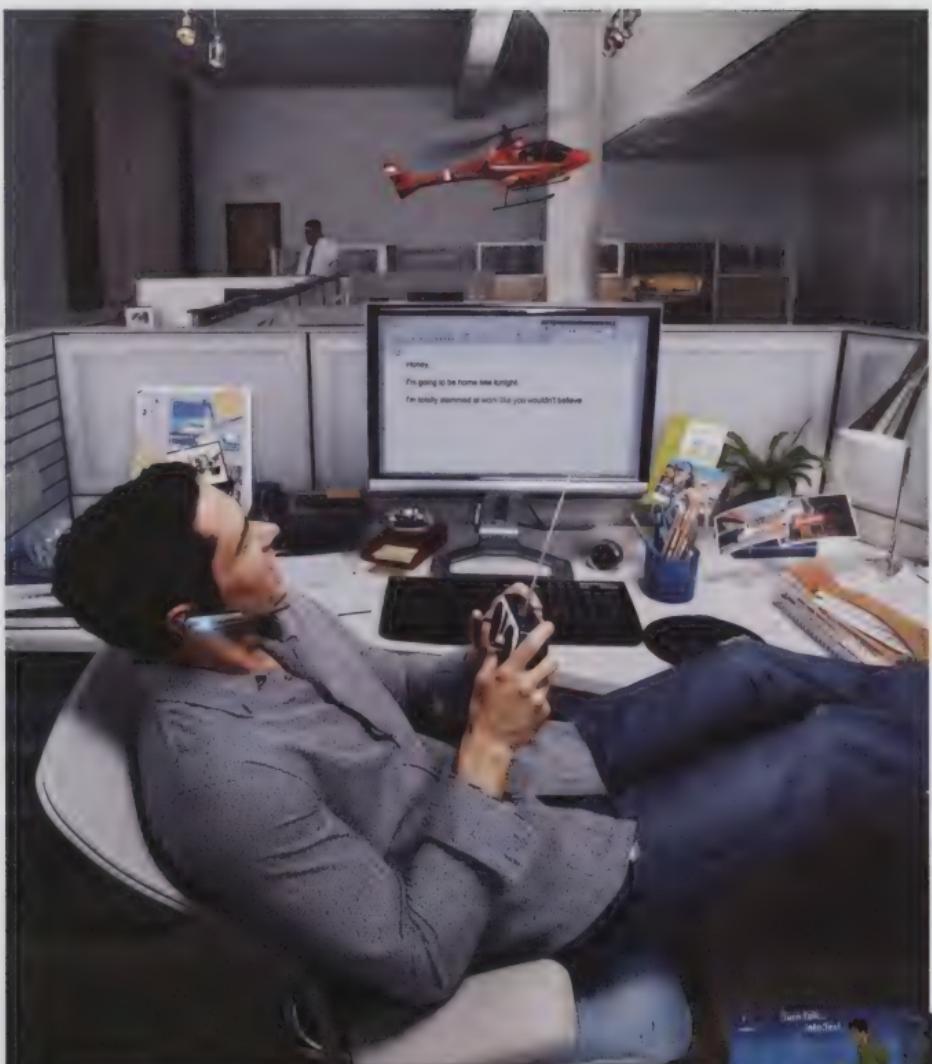


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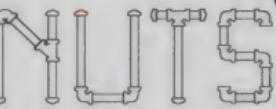
REAL ESTATE, PAGE 58

# Life

□ GEEK CHIC □ REAL ESTATE □ TRAVEL □ FIT NATION

ROBOT

goes



NUTS.



BOLTS.

(I, ROBOT)

COLOURED PAINT AND  
DRUMS—  
*yawn.*

(BLUE MAN GROUP)

—word THEATER REVIEW

—word MEMOIR

The

6

{ Secret  
of  
*life:*  
Marry an Italian.  
(BY NORA EPHRON)}

WELL, I WARNED HER.

CHICKENS  
DO NOT LIKE TO  
RIDE IN CARS...

(BY JEANINE FARRELL,  
PHILADELPHIA)



The  
12

—word NOVEL

## GEEK CHIC Haiku Nation.

Words few,  
hard-hitting.  
So participatory.  
Mini-lit is hot

BY JEREMY CAPLAN

SHORT IS IN. ONLINE AMERICANS, fed up with e-mail overload and blogorrhea, are retreating into micro-writing. Six-word memoirs. Four-word film reviews. Twelve-word novels. Mini-lit is thriving.

Like traditional Japanese poetry, the new pop-culture haiku says a lot with few words. These days digital eloquence is defined by pithiness. Witness the rise of Twitter.com, where more than a million users submit messages of 140 characters max (i.e., no longer than this sentence). In the book world, a surprise hit this year has been *Not Quite What I Was Planning: Six-Word Memoirs by Writers Famous and Obscure*. The book, which features entries culled from more than 25,000 submissions on smithmag.net, begins with children's advocate Robin Templeton's "After Harvard,

had baby with crackhead" and includes superchef Mario Batali's "Brought it to a boil often."

Co-editor Larry Smith, who founded *Smith* magazine and signs his e-mails "Big hair, big heart, big hurry," says the collection was inspired by a six-word story Ernest Hemingway allegedly produced on a dare: "For sale: baby shoes, never worn."

A second six-word collection, on love and heartbreak, will be out in January, followed by an edition of teen submissions. Smith, however, aware of the dangers of overextension, insists the micro-memoir won't become the next *Chicken Soup for the Soul*, which has dozens of iterations. "There won't be *Six Words for the Pet-Food Lover's Soul*," he says.

But the six-word meme is spreading. A North Carolina preacher encourages six-word prayers. A group of techies trade six-word e-mails. And the trend has sparked a revival, on YouTube, of "Weird Al" Yankovic's (*This Song's Just Six Words Long*).

Of course, not everyone sticks to six. NPR's *On the Media* held a 12-word-novel contest, which yielded several gems, including listener Brenda J. Wolfe's "My sister had written Father's obituary. He is survived by one daughter." The contest was held last November in honor of National Novel Writing Month, a.k.a. NaNoWriMo.

London blogger Devon Dugan created *Five-Word Reviews* to match the length of gushing excerpts in theater ads ("Don't miss! Moving and memorable"). She says micro-writers crave linguistic variety. But not always. "For *Jerry Springer: The Opera*, I would have liked to include five synonyms for atrocious," she says. Instead, she went with "Hackneyed jokes and ghastly songs."

For Web developer Benj Clews, even five words are too many. Users submit four-word film reviews to his FWFR.com site—such as "Tense. Intense. In tents" for *The Blair Witch Project* and "This is Spaniel Tap" for *Best in Show*. "It's all about the sheer, honest bluntness the format forces," says Clews. But why four words? "Three words never seemed like quite enough," he says. "Five felt like overkill." ■

## REAL ESTATE

# The Buddy System.

Young home buyers are banding together to afford nicer places. Is that financial insanity?



BY BARBARA KIVIAT

STUART KATZ AND JEFF KOVACK MET AT Ohio State. They quickly hit it off. The pair joined the same fraternity, and after graduation, both moved to Baltimore, where they became roommates. Then a year ago in April, the 25-year-olds took the next step: they bought a house together.

But no, this isn't *that* story. This is the story of friends—just friends—who buy houses together because they are young and don't have a lot of money but smell opportunity in a soft real estate market and want to start building equity ASAP, even if it comes before the wife, kids and golden retriever. "On my own, I might have been able to buy a one-bedroom condo, but that would have been pushing it," says Kovack. Instead, he and Katz live in a 2,300-sq.-ft. (about 215 sq.m) three-bedroom row house with stainless-steel appliances and a deck

out back. They split the mortgage, the tax break, the cost of upkeep—and the pride of being homeowners a few years out of college.

Given real estate's penchant for short-hand (think condo, co-op, comps and co-ops), we should add a term for friends who buy houses together. Let's call them communal homeowners. Co-hos.

For a *Friends*-reared generation that is remaining single longer, being house-

## LEXICON

**co-ho** *n.*—short for *communal homeowner*, TIME'S term for a person who buys a house with friends

**SYN.** *fro-ho*, our runner-up, deemed too silly

his job and when Kovack decided to take one that paid less. Katz says, "I knew he wouldn't sacrifice paying the mortgage to do other things, and he had to trust that I had enough money saved." The pair also talked exit strategy early on. They agreed to hold on to the house for at least two years. After that, if one of them wants out, the house goes on the market.

But winging it doesn't always work. After Katz and Kovack bought their place in Baltimore, two of their buddies from Ohio State decided to get a house in Columbus. At first the match seemed perfect. Brian Testerman, 25, and Collin Nailor, 24, had known each other for six years, and both saw the house as an investment: they'd buy a fixer-upper, live in it during the renovation, then sell for a profit. The problem is, 11 months into home ownership, Nailor wants to move to Chicago, where his girlfriend now lives. Testerman thinks it's ridiculous to sell so soon; work hasn't even begun on the kitchen. "I'm stressed out," he says. "Going home is uncomfortable."

And that's not nearly as bad as it could be. Taking title to a house with another person means his or her assets are tangled up with yours. If your fellow co-ho can't keep up with the mortgage or runs into other financial trouble and creditors or a bankruptcy court descends, the house could be seized. If forced to sell, you'll get half the money, but farewell, home, sweet home.

Which is all the more reason to communicate early and often—throw those bank statements on the table, and let everyone see. "In a certain sense, it's like a prenuptial agreement," says Louise Merriam, a real estate agent at Coldwell Banker Hickok & Boardman in Burlington, Vt.

And yet in other ways, being a co-ho is very much *not* like being married. When Merriam took Mike Dash and Matt Sisto, two 24-year-olds, to look at a condo, it had a master bedroom and a second, smaller one. "We were, like, 'Who's going to get the master?'" says Dash. "We contemplated playing a round of golf for it." Or think about what happens every time Marefat or Gabrovsek wants to do some decorating. "We always ask, 'Is this O.K.? Is that O.K.?' says Marefat. "If I were married, it would be much easier to say 'I like this. We're putting it in.'"

As house prices cool—and more young people stop assuming that buying is out of reach—there will probably be more co-hos. "Once I started talking about it, I had people saying, 'Maybe I could go in with you,'" says Gatesby Holmes, 26, a travel editor in New York City who is shopping for an apartment with two friends. "I thought, This is going to be a 10-person house. I had to say 'Maybe you should find your own.' Or, rather, find one with a friend. ■



#### ▲ HAPPY AT HOME

STUART KATZ, LEFT, AND JEFF KOVACK

**College friends who bought a place in Baltimore**  
**CO-HOMEOWNER STRATEGY** The 25-year-olds decided they'd hold the house for at least two years. After that, if one wants out, the house gets sold

**TIP ...** Set the terms for big decisions ahead of time

#### ◀ NOT AS LUCKY

BRIAN TESTERMAN, LEFT, AND COLLIN NAILOR

**Went in together on a house in Columbus, Ohio**  
**CO-HOMEOWNER STRATEGY** The initial plan was to live in a fixer-upper and sell after renovating it. But Nailor, 24, now wants to move to Chicago to be with his girlfriend; Testerman, 25, says it's too soon to sell  
**TIP ...** Discuss your life goals, not just your finances

mates makes perfect sense not just financially but socially too. "What are you going to do—come home to an empty house every night?" asks James Cartlidge, who in 2004 co-founded Share to Buy, a British firm that helps co-hos get mortgages. Erik Carter, 29, a law student in San Diego, is considering buying a house (and a particularly large house at that) with four other people: his girlfriend, another couple and a fifth friend. "It's like a reversion to the old extended family," he says. "But now you choose your family."

Families, though, are built for mingled finances. Friendships, we're told, are not. "My parents were very nervous," says Tanja Gabrovsek, 35, a nurse who bought a three-bedroom row house in San Francisco with her friend and colleague Simin Marefat, 34. Signing a mortgage means you're on the hook financially; the bank doesn't care if you're not the one whose check is late. So

what happens if someone loses a job? Or wants to move?

Contingencies like those are why Gabrovsek and Marefat have a 25-page agreement that spells out everything from how they pay for home repairs (fifty-fifty all the way) to what happens if one of them gets married (the husband has no claim on the house) or dies (the surviving owner has the right to buy the other half before it goes to next of kin). "People are friends, and they're honest people, but situations change," says Andy Sirkin, a real estate lawyer whose firm crafted the agreement. "You need to be ready."

Back in Baltimore, Katz and Kovack don't have a written agreement, but they do have a long history. When they moved to Baltimore, they even started work for the same homebuilder. "You have to do this with a person you trust," says Katz. That was crucial when Katz lost

## TRAVEL

# Orlando for Grownups. Forget Cinderella Castle. With kids back in school, this city shows its mature side



BY JOHN CLOUD

**ORLANDO, FLA.**: YOU'RE THINKING ROVING packs of sunburned children who let their ice cream drip on your toes as you wait to ride Space Mountain. You're thinking overpriced hot dogs and hotel pools crammed with little kids leaving warm spots. All true, but the city has also quietly become a favored destination for adults traveling without kids. Some 54% of adults who visit the city now do so without children—66% if you include convention attendees, according to travel researcher D.K. Shiflet & Associates.

Sure, a lot of adults go to Orlando to indulge in creepy Disney nostalgia. (Grown men should not wear Mickey ears.) But there's another side to Orlando, a city with an opera company, two excellent museums and a busy, quirky nightlife. In an era when only the wealthy can afford an overseas plane ticket, when New York City is too expensive and "the new Vegas" now feels old, consider Orlando. This perpetual adolescent of a city is finally growing up.

That's not to say you should avoid the theme parks entirely. They are, after all, the spectacles that make this place unique. After checking in to one of the more grown-up hotels—the so-new-it-smells-like-paint Westin Imagine has a barman, Kyle McCann, who does masterfully things with flavored vodka—go ahead and submit to Disney World. Skip the main park and

head for Animal Kingdom (\$75). Cynics will argue, correctly, that the park's Kilimanjaro Safaris are merely rides around a large zoo. But this zoo has no walls, and you see it from a rover-style truck. The animals might walk right up or lie low in some brush as a guide imparts PBS-worthy information ("Thomson's gazelles are fully grown at 60 lb."). For adults who can't afford a trip to Africa, it's a highly satisfying substitute.

You can get even closer to the wildlife at Discovery Cove, an Anheuser-Busch-owned day resort where the \$289 admission includes all-you-can drink beer. But the bottles of Bud Light Lime aren't the reason to go. The dolphins are. At first I was skeptical about swimming with a dolphin. It swims outside the U.S., the animals have

## ITINERARY

## Flee the Magic Kingdom. How adults play in Orlando



**HISTORY CENTER**  
See Ted Bundy's name carved on the table where he sat during his trial



**DISCOVERY COVE**  
Swim with dolphins and 10,000 tropical fish, and indulge in all-you-can-drink beer



**ANIMAL KINGDOM**  
On safari, you and the wildlife get to cruise around accurate habitats



**AMERICAN ART**  
A lively collection at the Orlando Museum of Art features five Rauschenbergs

been abused. But Discovery Cove's dolphins work only about two hours a day, according to head trainer Jesse Pottebaum. You'll learn a lot—almost too much—about dolphin anatomy (don't touch the "genital slit," we were told). And the mammals, which weigh around 425 lb. (about 200 kg), are captivatingly sweet to humans. When a trainer urges you to give the animal a kiss, you'll oblige, even if you have deeply mixed feelings about man-dolphin love.

After the bustle of the theme parks, take a person you'd like to kiss to Leu Gardens (\$7), a 50-acre (20 hectare) botanical garden in downtown Orlando. Make your way back to the Reba Tennessee Varnes bench and sit under the Spanish moss that hangs from a weeping Chinese elm. This must be the most romantic spot in Florida. Not far away is the Orlando Museum of Art (\$8), which focuses on works by Americans. Don't miss Dennis Oppenheim's majestically disturbing 1996 installation *Products from the Snowman Factory*, a collection of faceless fiberglass snowmen leaning in a corner. The other great museum in the region is the Morse (\$3), just outside Orlando in Winter Park. The Morse features the world's largest collection of works by Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), of lamp fame. I didn't expect much—maybe a bunch of overly precious glasswork. But I was moved to find that Tiffany had a dark, philosophical streak. His Lunette (circa 1900) is a leaded-glass fixture with an organic, unfinished quality. It's gritty, not pretty.

But perhaps the most startling and rewarding of Orlando experiences is the nightlife. While the clientele at Parliament House is mostly gay, its renowned drag shows draw hundreds of customers of all orientations. People line up 20 deep to give the drag queens cash, which they toss in crumpled piles behind them on the stage. I was there on a recent Monday morning at 2 a.m., and as revelers danced their way through *I Kissed a Girl*, I couldn't quite believe I was in the home of Disney World. Orlando, it turns out, isn't G-rated after all. ■

5 more minutes. 5 more minutes. 5 more minutes.



Kristen was beginning to see the genius of the snooze button.

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# The Snore Wars

That rumbling can put your health, sanity and marriage at risk. Here's what you can do



Sanjay Gupta's  
*Fit Nation*  
series airs on  
*House Call on CNN*, Saturdays  
and Sundays, at  
8:30 a.m. E.T.

I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN happy that I'm not a snorer—or at least I was until recently, when my wife told me otherwise. After a few days of adamant denials, I decided to place a tape recorder on the bedside table. When I hit PLAY the next morning, I was surprised to hear a rhythmic, rumbling noise that was enough to disturb my wife's sleep. In my case, the problem was transient, caused by a recent bout of allergies and sinus trouble. When my breathing cleared up, so did the snoring. Yet for millions of other couples out there, snoring is a cause not just of health worries but also of marital woes.

According to a recent study, nearly 1 out of 4 people married to a snorer will eventually be driven out of the bedroom rather than spend another night battling for sleep. Sometimes even that's not enough. "I see a lot of patients whose spouses can't just go to another room. They have to escape to a whole other area of the house," says Dr. Marc Kayem, medical director of the Snoring and Ap-

nea Center of California, in Los Angeles.

Snoring is caused by a few things, but the biggest culprit is a vibration of very relaxed muscles and tissues in the throat, which rattle against narrow breathing passages. Symptoms are worse when you are overweight, have a short neck or still have your tonsils. "It's almost like trying to sleep with a straw in your mouth," says Kayem. As you might guess, snorers should refrain from sleeping on their back, as gravity will pull muscles toward the back of the throat. Sleeping on your side is best. It's also helpful to cut back on relaxants like alcohol and certain medications before bed.

Nasal strips, which adhere to the bridge of the nose and widen airways, are popular, but I have always been dubious about them. Kayem recommends them but only for people whose snoring is due to sinus blockage. They won't help chronic

**For some people with obstructive sleep apnea, snoring is more than a nuisance; it can be a matter of life and death**

snorers with loose muscles in their throats.

There are some over-the-counter sprays that work by coating the soft palate. But if you use the spray, be sure to reapply it after you drink any liquid. Mouth guards customized by a dentist can be useful yet pricey. They work by moving your jaw forward, which allows more room in your throat. Similar appliances are sold over the counter, but sleep experts urge patients to pass up such noncustomized options.

Weight plays a key role too. For many people who have noticed their snoring symptoms worsening, the answer may be as simple as dropping five or 10 extra pounds. But many people need to lose a lot more than that. For these folks, snoring is more than a nuisance; it can literally be a matter of life and death.

Two thirds of chronic snorers develop a serious condition known as obstructive sleep apnea. In between snores, the breathing passages get completely blocked, resulting in no air at all for 10 seconds or more. In those 10 seconds, your brain isn't getting oxygen and your blood isn't pumping to your heart. This can cause high blood pressure, fatigue and a decrease in productivity. In severe cases, it can lead to stroke or heart attack.

Many patients experience dramatic improvements when their doctors prescribe nighttime breathing masks, which gently force air past obstructions. A relatively new, minimally invasive solution called the pillar procedure may fix the problem permanently with the aid of three to five implants inserted into the soft palate. The idea is to stiffen the tissue and provide a wider opening for breathing. Small studies show a 75% success rate. The procedure takes only about 15 minutes and is said to be virtually painless. The downside is that it costs from \$1,500 to \$3,000 and isn't usually covered by insurance. No matter what method you choose, the key is not to brush off symptoms. If you catch them early, you can protect both yourself and your marriage. So thanks, honey, for telling me I snore. —WITH REPORTING BY DANIELLE DELLORTO/ATLANTA



## While you've been building your life, plaque may have been building in your arteries.

If you have HIGH CHOLESTEROL, you may be at risk for a progressive disease called atherosclerosis, the buildup of plaque in your arteries over time.

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Ask your doctor if it's time for CRESTOR. Along with diet, CRESTOR ▼ lowers your bad cholesterol and ▲ raises the good. And CRESTOR is approved to slow the progression of atherosclerosis as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal.

**Important Safety Information about CRESTOR:** In adults, CRESTOR is prescribed along with diet for lowering high cholesterol. CRESTOR is also prescribed along with diet to slow the progression of atherosclerosis (the buildup of plaque in arteries) as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal. CRESTOR has not been determined to prevent heart disease, heart attacks, or strokes.

CRESTOR is not right for everyone, including anyone

who has previously had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR, anyone with liver problems, or women who are nursing, pregnant, or who may become pregnant. Your doctor will do blood tests before and during treatment with CRESTOR to monitor your liver function. Unexplained muscle pain and weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. The 40-mg dose of CRESTOR is only for patients who do not reach goal on 20 mg. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medications. Side effects occur infrequently and include headache, muscle aches, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea.

**Please read the important product information about CRESTOR on the adjacent page.**

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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# IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR® (ROUVASTATIN CALCIUM)

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your health care professional about CRESTOR. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional. Only your healthcare professional has the training to help weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

## WHAT IS CRESTOR?

CRESTOR is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins. Along with diet, CRESTOR lowers "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C) and increases "good" cholesterol (HDL-C). CRESTOR also slows the progression of atherosclerosis in adults with high cholesterol, as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal.

## WHAT IS CHOLESTEROL?

Cholesterol is a fatty substance, also called a lipid, normally found in your bloodstream. Your body needs a certain amount of cholesterol to function properly. But high cholesterol can lead to health problems. LDL-C is called bad cholesterol because if you have too much in your bloodstream, it can become a danger to your health and can lead to potentially serious conditions. HDL-C is known as good cholesterol because it may help remove excess cholesterol. Common health factors such as family history, high blood pressure, smoking, obesity, family history of early heart disease, and age can make controlling your cholesterol even more important.

## WHAT IS ATHEROSCLEROSIS?

Atherosclerosis is the progressive buildup of plaque in the arteries over time. One major cause is high levels of LDL-C. Other health factors, such as family history, diabetes, high blood pressure, or if you smoke or are overweight, also play a role in the formation of plaque in arteries. Often this plaque starts building up in arteries in early adulthood and gets worse over time.

## HOW DOES CRESTOR WORK?

Most of the cholesterol in your blood is made in the liver. CRESTOR works by blocking an enzyme in the liver. Blocking this enzyme causes the liver to make less cholesterol. CRESTOR helps the liver absorb and use more cholesterol from the blood.

## WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE CRESTOR?

### Do not take CRESTOR if you

- have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR or are allergic to any of its ingredients. The active ingredient is rosuvastatin calcium. The inactive ingredients are: microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, tribasic calcium phosphate, crospovidone, magnesium stearate, hypromellose, tricalcium, titanium dioxide, yellow ferric oxide, and red ferric oxide
- have liver problems
- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- have a history of muscle pain or weakness
- drink alcoholic beverages
- are of Asian ancestry

The safety and effectiveness of CRESTOR have not been established in children.

## HOW SHOULD I TAKE CRESTOR?

- Take CRESTOR exactly as prescribed by your health care professional. Do not change your dose or stop CRESTOR without talking to your health care professional, even if you are feeling well
- Your health care professional may do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels during your treatment with CRESTOR. Your dose of CRESTOR may be changed based on these blood test results
- CRESTOR can be taken at any time of day, with or without food
- Swallow the tablets whole
- Your health care professional should start you on a cholesterol-lowering diet before giving you CRESTOR. Stay on this diet when you take CRESTOR
- Wait at least 2 hours after taking CRESTOR to take an antacid that contains a combination of aluminum and magnesium hydroxide
- If you miss a dose of CRESTOR, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take 2 doses of CRESTOR within 12 hours of each other
- If you take too much CRESTOR or overdose, call your health care professional or a Poison Control Center right away or go to the nearest emergency room

## WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE TAKING CRESTOR?

Tell your health care professional if you

- have diabetes, thyroid, liver or kidney problems
- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- have a history of muscle pain or weakness
- drink alcoholic beverages
- are of Asian ancestry

Tell your health care professional about all medicines you took or plan to take, including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may interact with CRESTOR, causing side effects. It is particularly important to tell your health care professional if you are taking or plan to take

- cyclosporine (used after organ transplants)
- gemfibrozil (used to lower cholesterol)
- fibrates (used to lower cholesterol)
- niacin (used to lower cholesterol)
- warfarin (used for thinning blood)
- lopinavir/ritonavir combination (used to treat HIV/AIDS)
- birth control pills that contain ethynodiol diacetate or norgestrel
- antacids containing aluminum and magnesium hydroxide (used for heartburn)

Know all of the medicines you take and what they look like. It's always a good idea to check that you have the right prescription before you leave the pharmacy and before you take any medicine.

Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your health care professional. If you need to go to the hospital or have surgery, tell all of your health care professionals about all medicines that you are taking.

## WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF CRESTOR?

CRESTOR can cause side effects in some people. Serious side effects may include:

**Muscle problems.** Call your health care professional right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, especially with fever. This may be an early sign of a rare muscle problem that could lead to serious kidney problems. The risk of muscle problems is greater in people who are 65 years of age or older or who already have thyroid or kidney problems. The chance of muscle problems may be increased if you are taking certain other medicines with CRESTOR.

**Liver problems.** Your health care professional should do blood tests before you start taking CRESTOR and during treatment to check for signs of possible liver problems.

**The most common side effects may include:** headache, muscle aches and pains, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea.

This is not a complete list of side effects of CRESTOR. Talk to your health care professional for a complete list or if you have side effects that bother you or that do not go away.

## HOW SHOULD I STORE CRESTOR?

Store your medication at room temperature, in a dry place. If your health care professional tells you to stop treatment or if your medicine is out of date, throw the medicine away. Keep CRESTOR and all medicines in a secure place and out of the reach of children.

## WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR?

Talk to your health care professional. Full Prescribing Information is available on [www.CRESTOR.com](http://www.CRESTOR.com) or by calling 1-800-CRESTOR.

## GENERAL ADVICE

It is important to take CRESTOR as prescribed and to discuss any health changes you experience while taking CRESTOR with your health care professional. Do not use CRESTOR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give CRESTOR to other people, even if they have the same medical condition. It may harm them. Keep CRESTOR and all medicines away from children. This summary provides important information about CRESTOR. For more information, please ask your health care professional about the full Prescribing Information and discuss it with him or her.

Visit [www.CRESTOR.com](http://www.CRESTOR.com). Or call the Information Center

at AstraZeneca toll-free at 1-800-CRESTOR.

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'There's a certain ceremony to tea. It's the absolute opposite of the morning shot of espresso.'

SIMON BURDESS, FORTNUM & MASON

# Pursuits

□ TRAVEL

## Afternoon delight

The Cameron Highlands Resort's tea picnic is served to guests at the BOH tea plantation



TRAVEL

**Turning Over a New Leaf.** Tea lovers in search of the perfect brew are combing the globe from Malaysia to India and China

BY MARION HUME

IT'S 3:30 P.M. IN THE CAMERON HIGHLANDS, which rise some 5,000 ft. (about 1,500 m) above sea level and are reached by a vertiginous four-hour drive that winds through the jungle from the Malaysian capital, Kuala Lumpur. The landscape here seems otherworldly. High ridges stretching as far

as the eye can see are covered in strangely vivid, clipped bushes. It's a setting that at first glance could be mistaken for a vast installation by sculptor in nature Andy Goldsworthy or a place J.R.R. Tolkien might have imagined for his orcs and elves.

Atop one of the bright green slopes, a distant silhouette is revealed, as one gets closer, to be a table shaded by a large para-

sol, with a waiter in a starched white uniform standing beneath it. Bone-china cups along with finger sandwiches and home baked scones are laid out on a crisp damask cloth, a spread that would not look out of place at the Ritz London. In fact, it is the afternoon tea picnic, prepared by the Cameron Highlands Resort hotel and served on an immense working tea plantation. The

establishment also offers walks guided by tea planters and, before each treatment on its spa menu, a detoxifying, skin-softening bath in cold tea.

"Tea tourists" are a growing cult, says Caroline Grayburn of Tim Best Travel, a London-based travel agency known for planning unusual, bespoke trips. "Our clients are keen to get beneath the surface of a country and see how it works. An interest in tea can take you to the exceptionally beautiful Darjeeling in the northeast of India or to Kerala in the south or even to Uganda and Malawi in Africa," she says. "And of course, being served afternoon tea in a ravishingly lovely hill country—well, what could be more glorious?"

Fortunately for peripatetic tea seekers, *Camellia sinensis*, the plant from which all teas—black, green, white and oolong—are derived (peppermint, chamomile and fruit teas, of course, not strictly teas but herbal brews) is inherently picturesque, with its brilliant green sculpted bushes that appear to stretch to infinity, especially when viewed from a shady veranda. "There's nothing like waking up at the top of the world with only the noise of birds and monkeys," says Joe Simrany, who has stayed on breathtaking tea plantations in China and Sri Lanka and happens to be president of the Tea Council of the USA.

While it wouldn't quite qualify as a revolution, a considerable revival of the ritual of tea-drinking seems to be taking place as less itinerant souls also rediscover its charms. In modern Britain, where workers sip their afternoon cuppa (or just as likely, their cappuccino) either on the go or at their desk, the office tea break may be a thing of the past, yet going out for English-style afternoon tea has never been more popular. At Fortnum & Mason, the Piccadilly store that started selling loose-leaf tea in 1707, the in-store restaurants brew 88 lb.



**At your service** A table is prepared for high tea, above, at Cameron Highlands Resort

**Tea bags** The picked leaves and buds are loaded onto trucks and taken to be dried

(40 kg) a week, which produces 3,600 pots, or about 7,200 cups.

"There's a certain ceremony to tea," says Simon Burdess, Fortnum & Mason's trading director. "It's the absolute opposite of the morning shot of espresso. It has protocols. It's about slowing down and taking a moment from the hustle of the modern world, which these days seems the ultimate luxury."

Given the elaborate rituals involved, the round-the-world art of tea-making has always been fascinating to observe—from the Chinese style, with its subtexts and symbols, to the Zen-inspired wonders of the Japanese tea ceremony.

The French took to tea in 1636, eight years before it arrived in England or in what were then Britannia's colonies in the Americas. Afternoon tea French-style (accompanied by macaroons or madeleines but never with milk) has been enjoying a significant renaissance, which some attribute to Sofia Coppola's 2006 movie *Marie Antoinette*, in which scenes of the Queen and her friends taking tea were portrayed as the 18th century equivalent of Carrie Bradshaw and the girls sipping their cosmopolitans.

In India, the source of much of the world's tea, the ceremony of afternoon tea used to be considered a throwback to

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### Tea-Plantation Hotels

Malaysia: Cameron Highlands Resort, Pahang; [cameronhighlandsresort.com](http://cameronhighlandsresort.com). Bookings: [slih.com](http://slih.com). India: Glenburn Tea Estate, Darjeeling, West Bengal; [glenburnteasteate.com](http://glenburnteasteate.com). Bookings: [timbesttravel.com](http://timbesttravel.com).

### Afternoon Tea Services

London: The Goring, Beeston Place, Grosvenor Gardens; 44-20-7396-9000; [www.goringhotel.co.uk](http://www.goringhotel.co.uk). Bookings: [reception@goringhotel.co.uk](mailto:reception@goringhotel.co.uk). St. James's Restaurant at Fortnum & Mason,

181 Piccadilly; 44-20-7734-8040; [fortnumandmason.com](http://fortnumandmason.com).

Paris: Ladurée, 16 rue Royale; 33-1-42-60-21-79; [laduree.fr](http://laduree.fr). Mariage Frères, 30 rue du Bourg-Tibourg; 33-1-42-72-28-11; [mariagefreres.com](http://mariagefreres.com). New York City: The Palm Court at the Plaza, Fifth Avenue at Central Park South; 212-759-3000; [fairmont.com/theplaza](http://fairmont.com/theplaza). Bookings: [theplaza@fairmont.com](mailto:theplaza@fairmont.com).

### Tea Tastings

Paris: Maison des Trois Thés (tea degustation with Madame

Tseng Yu Hui), the only female tea master, 1 rue Saint-Médard; 33-1-43-36-93-84; [troisthes.com](http://troisthes.com). Beijing: Lao She's Teahouse, 3 Qianmenxi Dajie; 84-10-6303-6830; [laosheteahouse.com](http://laosheteahouse.com). Kyoto: Ippodo Tea Co., Teramachi-dori Nijo, Nakagyo-ku; 81-75-211-3421; [ippodo-tea.co.jp/en/](http://ippodo-tea.co.jp/en/). Ishifusa, Shijo Pontochō, Agaru Nakagyo-ku; 81-75-221-4725.



**Seeing green** All true teas are derived from the leaves of *Camellia sinensis*, left

**Fresh crop** These leaves will be treated and dried to produce different brews

the Raj. "Yet recently, my girlfriends and I have rediscovered the Willingdon Sports Club in Mumbai for the full afternoon tea," says Sheetal Mafatlal, president of Mafatlal Luxury, which oversees the Valentino franchise in India.

While some would insist that Manhattan's smartest place for afternoon tea remains the Carlyle, Simrany says he will be excited when the *Pierre* finishes its current renovations "because it's owned by Tata, the Indian tea conglomerate," he says. (Tata is the largest private company in India, with interests that include the Taj hotel group.)

Outlets specializing in tea have grown

significantly in the U.S. in the past 15 years, Simrany says, from about half a dozen in 1991 to at least 100 today in New York City and about 2,400 nationwide. "Of course, there are thousands more coffeehouses, but most of them have added specialty teas too," he says.

Such fashionability makes it tempting to call tea the new coffee, although this would be ridiculous from a historical perspective, given that an ancient Chinese Emperor (or more likely his servant) first threw boiling water onto plucked leaves some 3,000 years before Arabian traders decided to boil up the coffee beans they had gotten from Ethiopia. Worldwide, tea is far more popular than coffee, except in the U.S., where it also trails behind soft drinks, beer and milk. (Unique to the U.S., 80% of tea consumed is served iced. And 96% of the hot tea consumed internationally is made using tea bags, a century-old American invention; the Brits alone use 135 million tea bags every day.)

Good tea, like fine wine, carries the character of the land where it is grown. The world's top traders employ tasters, who are rather like perfumers except that they must sense flavor as well as aroma to mix extraordinary blends. "We have two people here who can identify tea virtually to the hillside on which it was grown," says Fortnum & Mason's Burdess, "and that simply isn't possible with coffee, where so much of the flavor comes from the roasting."

And while Arabica certainly has its aficionados, and people all over the globe are now familiar with the "tall, grande, venti" lexicon of Starbucks, "there are literally thousands of different types of tea to discover," according to the Tea Council's Simrany.

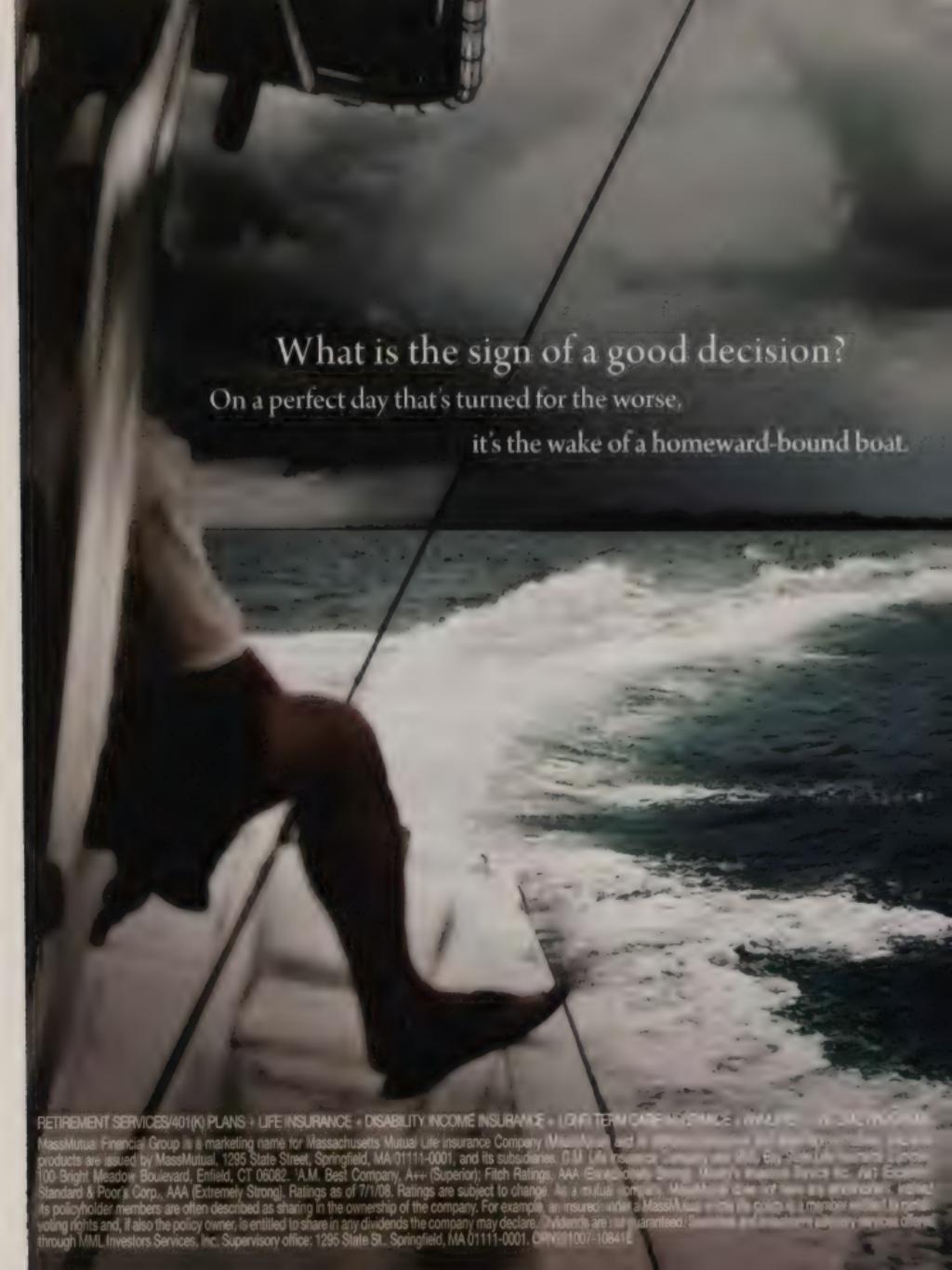
The four main types of tea vary in taste according to the parts of the leaf that are picked and how they are treated before they are dried. Hence black tea—for which the leaves are wilted, rolled and fermented—tastes different from oolong, for which the fermenting process is arrested halfway through. Green-tea leaves are dried fresh from picking, and white tea comes from the topmost tips.

First and second flush refer to the point at which the leaves were picked. And then geographical origin—such as robust, malty Assam from India or light, bright Dimbula Ceylon from Sri Lanka—must be taken into account. There is leaf size to consider too: the term *orange pekoe*, for instance, has nothing to do with oranges but denotes whether the leaf is a bud or the tip of a bud. (Earl Grey tea, however, gets its distinctive flavor from the addition of oil from the rind of the bergamot orange.)

The variations are as limitless as the plantations themselves. Which is why one can find oneself enjoying a very fine Darjeeling Earl-Grey finest-tippy-golden-flowery-orange pekoe first flush—making a morning order of a tall, extra shot, skinny latte seem utterly straightforward. ■



**Taste test** Zhang, left, consults with one of the vendors at Beijing's Malian Dao tea market



What is the sign of a good decision?

On a perfect day that's turned for the worse,

it's the wake of a homeward-bound boat.

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JIM COLLINS, AUTHOR OF "GOOD TO GREAT" AND CO-AUTHOR OF "BUILT TO LAST", *as quoted in FORTUNE's 5.5.08 issue*



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**The bards of summer**  
From left, Usher, Estelle,  
Kid Rock, Rihanna and  
Katy Perry

# Arts

□ MUSIC □ MOVIES □ DOWNTIME

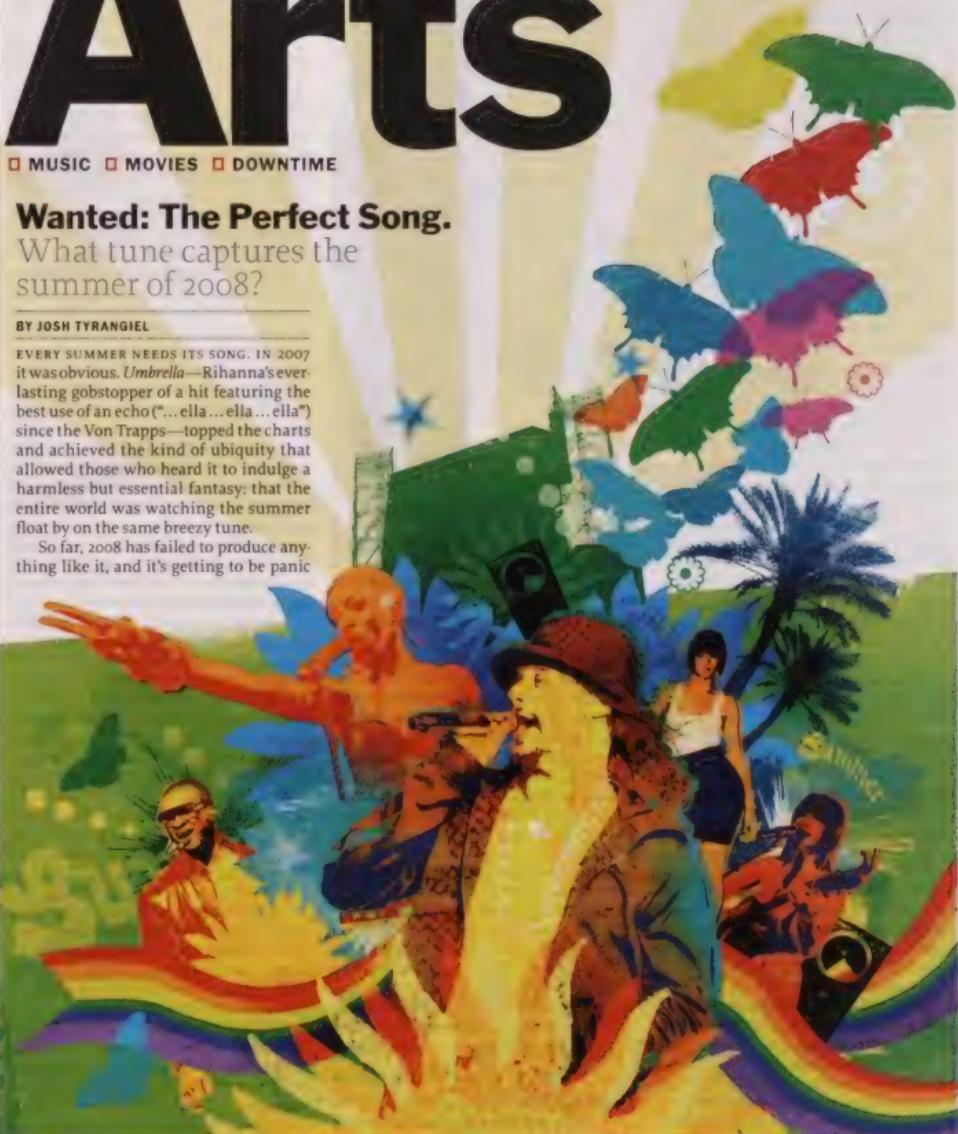
## Wanted: The Perfect Song.

What tune captures the summer of 2008?

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

EVERY SUMMER NEEDS ITS SONG. IN 2007 it was obvious. *Umbrella*—Rihanna's everlasting gobstopper of a hit featuring the best use of an echo ("... ella ... ella ... ella") since the Von Trapps—topped the charts and achieved the kind of ubiquity that allowed those who heard it to indulge a harmless but essential fantasy: that the entire world was watching the summer float by on the same breezy tune.

So far, 2008 has failed to produce anything like it, and it's getting to be panic



time. Especially since the closest thing by the numbers is *I Kissed a Girl* by Katy Perry, a 23-year-old lapsed gospel singer who was brought up *Footloose*-style—no rock music allowed—but apparently climbed down enough trellises to inspire her paean to experimentation. *I Kissed a Girl* has ruled the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart since June, and even though I can't find anyone who'll admit to liking the song, it has succeeded in uniting two previously disparate segments of the market. Christian groups have taken issue with Perry's sudden sapphicitation, while gay activists are spoiled for choice between *I Kissed a Girl*'s apparent trivialization of lesbianism and the fact that Perry's previous single, *Ur So Gay* (opening lyric: "I hope you hang yourself with your H&M scarf"), makes her seem like a less-than-ideal spokeswoman for the cause.

As odd as the debate over *I Kissed a Girl* is, the song is much, much weirder. It opens with a martial drumbeat and a jock-jam keyboard riff so unsutable that only a radio programmer could love it. Then Perry's voice, overdubbed to a mechanical chill, describes the night she lost her inhibitions and found another girl's tongue. Countless people who have not heard *I Kissed a Girl* are under the impression that it's a cover of Jill Sobel's jangly 1995 hit of the same name. But where that track had a sweet, vulnerable sexuality, Perry turns brushing lips with the same sex into a cheesy, aggressive form of exhibitionism—like Wrestlemania without the cuddling.

Rihanna, back to defend her title, has better instincts for what listeners crave in the hot months: mordant ballads about love and light dance tunes about lust. *Take a Bow*, her ballad, is unremarkable, but *Disturbia* has one of those rubber-ball

## Perry turns a kiss with the same sex into a cheesy, aggressive form of exhibitionism—like Wrestlemania without the cuddling

melodies that bounce around your head even before Rihanna hammers it home as a lyrical refrain ("Bum bum be-dum, bum bum be-dum"). Co-written by R&B star Chris Brown, *Disturbia* ingratiates itself by not trying to be more than the silly piece of product that it is. But a summer anthem should have at least one moment when it feels enormous.

With timpani banging and Chris Martin's vocal cannon blasting, Coldplay's *Viva la Vida* is all huge moments, and back in June, it appeared set to become the rare rock song

## 10 BEST SONGS OF SUMMER

- 1. All Summer Long**  
*Kid Rock*
- 2. Disturbia**  
*Rihanna*
- 3. Love in This Club**  
*Usher*
- 4. American Boy**  
*Estelle*
- 5. No Matter What**  
*T.I.*
- 6. Bleeding Love**  
*Leona Lewis*
- 7. A Milli**  
*Lil Wayne*
- 8. When I Grow Up**  
*Pussycat Dolls*
- 9. Viva la Vida**  
*Coldplay*
- 10. I Kissed a Girl**  
*Katy Perry*



to dominate the season. (Since 1995, when Mary J. Blige and Method Man collaborated on *I'll Be There for You/ You're All I Need to Get By*, the reigning sound of summer has been almost exclusively hip-hop.) But once the onslaught of iPod ads subsided and the reality of the lyrics set in—"I hear Jerusalem bells a ringing/ Roman Cavalry choirs are singing"—it was obvious that *Viva la Vida* was better suited for song of the summer of 1984. The Pussycat Dolls, who continue their quest to liberate women from the horror of not being purely sexual objects, also earn a disqualification on lyrics. *When I Grow Up*, composed by a Mayo Clinic's worth of quality song doctors, is full of hooks, but how can a chorus about wanting to be famous tick off desires to "be in movies" and "have groupies" without mentioning, oh, singing?

Meanwhile, Leona Lewis, Simon Cowell's ballad-beltin' protégé, is undone less by her words than by her metaphor. *Bleeding Love*, which peaked on the charts in the spring and has lingered in broken hearts ever since, builds on the image of an ex-lover

whose return cuts Lewis open and causes her to "Keep bleeding/ Keep, keep bleeding love"—and then keep repeating it. Lewis has a nice little flutter in her voice, but how many times can she utter this phrase in four minutes before the imagery becomes oppressive? The answer is three. After that, *Bleeding Love* becomes oozing bathos.

As usual, hip-hop gets the dog-days tone better than most. Lil Wayne's much played *A Milli* is a fair replica of chaos on a humid night, while T.I.'s *No Matter What* spins out a tough tale of imminent separation and a promise of fidelity perfect for summer romances. Of course, this being rap, T.I.'s separation from his girl stems from his home confinement after an arrest on a gun charge, which explains why *No Matter What* hasn't found as many ears as it deserves. It's hard to do nationwide promo on lockdown.

For romance without ankle bracelets, Usher's *Love in This Club* is as good as the summer offerings get. When Usher says *love*, he means the feeling you get around an attractive stranger after a few glasses of Champagne, and in case that's not clear, he moans, "Let's both get undressed right here/ Keep it up girl and I swear/ I'ma give it to you nonstop." There's just enough self-awareness to keep *Love in This Club* from sounding like R. Kelly, though it's probably not a song you'd play around your parents. Estelle's twinkling *American Boy* is more appropriate for all ages, and it too has moments of humor, thanks to Kanye West's guest verse about Ribena and bespoke tailoring. It's sweet but a little too breezy to carry an entire season on its back.

So where does that leave us? With that opportunistic scoundrel Kid Rock, of course. Kid has never been anyone's first choice for rock star, in part because his act is based on ripping off so many other, better rock stars. But his *All Summer Long* is a lovable jalopy of a tune shamelessly mashing up the piano line from Warren Zevon's *Werewolves of London* and the chorus of Lynyrd Skynyrd's *Sweet Home Alabama*. It's cheating to put summer in the title, and Kid flaunts the rules even more by rapping about "smoking funny things" and "catching walleye from the dock" back in the glorious summer of 1989. His appeal to all possible demos couldn't be more transparent if he had Hillary Clinton and Flavor Flav on backup. Still, *All Summer Long* wears down your defenses with its goofy exuberance—not that you'll be listening to it on your iPod. Kid Rock doesn't have an agreement with Apple, so a karaoke version of *All Summer Long* credited to the anonymous Hit Masters has filled the vacuum and climbed to No. 5 on iTunes. How perfect is that? In a summer without a definitive song, we're content singing karaoke of karaoke.



### More Music

To hear and see the songs of summer, go to [time.com/summersongs](http://time.com/summersongs)

# Brother Act.

The Jonas boys grow up (a little bit) and make an album for adults

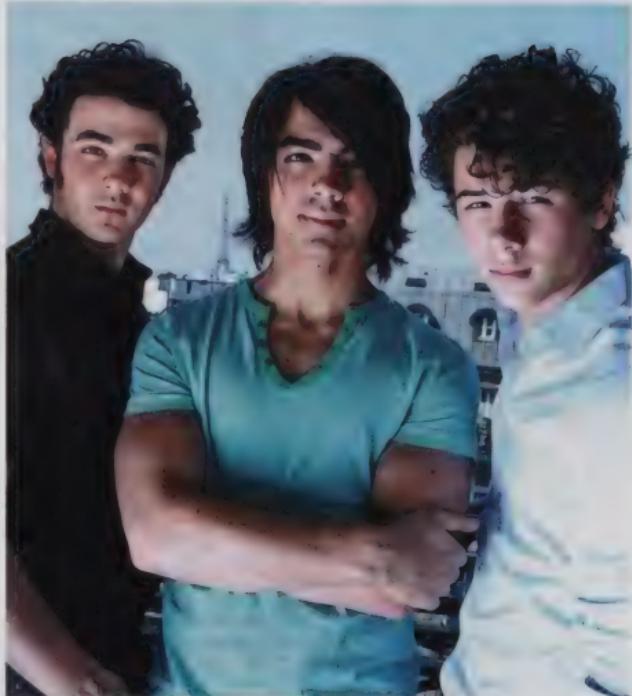


THE JONAS BROTHERS—three adorable haircuts related by birth and a willingness to appear on any talk show that will have them—are

the latest teen act to attempt to transcend cuteness and achieve a measure of credibility with people who have no interest in taking them to the prom. Every time a band tries this, someone at its record company invariably mentions the early '60s Beatles—it could happen!—but that only serves to reinforce how long the odds are, and the Jonas Brothers have already made it tough on themselves. There is the fact that all three brothers wear purity rings and have forsaken the temptations of sex and drugs, which wipes out large swaths of potential songwriting material. Also, they are products of the famously regimented Disney media machine, and their appearances on *Hannah Montana* and starring roles in *Camp Rock* don't suggest any hidden expertise at plumbing the rougher edges of existence. Finally, look at them: How can anyone be expected to rock out to a band cuter than the Muppets?

That said—and the sound you hear is the reluctant swallowing of some primo critical bile—the Jonas Brothers are not bad. Pretty good, even. All 12 songs on their third album, *A Little Bit Longer*, are about girls, and they're evenly divided between hook-filled upbeat rockers and ballads that stop themselves on the tasteless side of treacle. What we learn from these tunes about the various Jonases—Nick, 15, writes most of the songs and sings, while Joe, 19, sings lead vocals and looks handsome, and Kevin, 20, plays guitar—is that they are as honorable as their bios. When they court (*Lovebug*), they court with good intentions. When they mess up (*Sorry*), they apologize. When they come back (*Can't Have You*), it's on hands and knees. Apparently some of the courting and crawling stems from young Nick's rumored past relationship with Miley Cyrus. Hey, there are people—most of the brothers' fan base, in fact—who might find that interesting.

Far more interesting is the fact that most of *A Little Bit Longer* is catchy as



**Hair they go** Kevin plays guitar, Joe sings, and Nick writes the tunes. Cuteness duties are shared

hell. The Jonases may be popular, good-looking kids, but they're as enthralled by the mechanics of power chords and three-part harmonies as the nerds in Weezer are. *Burnin' Up*, which opens with a steam kettle boiling over, never leaves the realm of goofiness but redeems itself with a flirtatious, ebullient hook and a lyric so innocent—"High heels/ Red dress/ All by yourself/ Gotta catch my breath!"—that you might even forgive them for letting their bodyguard lay down a rap verse in the middle. *Lovebug* floats on a gentle acoustic guitar line into a sweetly delivered chorus ("Now I'm speechless/ Over the edge I'm just breathless/ I never thought that I'd catch this love bug again") before exploding

into a Boston-style guitar solo that they actually earn. The playing on these songs is big and precise, the singing joyful. None of it will surprise anyone with more than a dozen albums in their record collection, but then none of it will embarrass them either.

If there's anything that doesn't quite jibe about *A Little Bit Longer*, it's that the Jonases seem a little bit too comfortable making comfortable music. No one still harbors any illusions that rock musicians need to upset generational harmony, but the songs slot so neatly into the late-'70s template set by the Cars and Cheap Trick—and the Jonases are still so young—that it's easy to wonder if they're performing their own taste or that of their dad, who is also their co-manager. This may explain the presence of some weird banter at the beginning of songs and a few accidentally odd phrasings at the end of them: the brothers are desperate to assert they can be playful beneath the polish. So maybe they're not the Beatles. Or the Jackson 5. But they're a damn sight better than the Osmonds.

—BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

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**Wade in the water** Kim Roberts with her husband Scott and a picture of her mother

## MOVIES

### Soul Survivors.

A stirring new film reveals the heroism of Katrina's victims

BY RICHARD CORLISS

AS THE CAMERA PANS THE STREETS OF the Ninth Ward on the eve of Katrina, a reporter describes the scene, explains that some people didn't leave because they had no transportation and wonders if the storm is God's wrath raining down on New Orleans. Her sign-off: "This is me, reporting live, Kold Madina. We'll be bringin' y'all more footage very shortly."

The correspondent is Kimberly Rivers Roberts, and she is not a journalist but an aspiring rapper who calls herself Black Kold Madina. Just before Katrina hit New Orleans, Kim bought a video camera; she then used it to capture the damage and drama of the hurricane with a wit and painful insight beyond the gifts of Anderson Cooper. A week later she and her husband Scott Roberts were discovered by Tia Lessin and Carl Deal, documentarians who had worked for Michael Moore. The resulting movie, *Trouble the Water*, is an endlessly moving, artlessly magnificent tribute to people the government didn't think worth saving.

As the waters rise to the height of a person, the Roberts act as a citizens' National Guard, a more caring and effective FEMA. They take elderly friends to their attic, share food with them, give them comfort. Outside, a neighbor, Larry Simms, stands shoulder-deep in the water, looking for people

to save. And all the while, Kim keeps recording, giving witness to nature's fury and the government's indifference.

In their teens, Kim and Scott had both dealt drugs. Kim's brother is in jail. But whatever sorry state they fell in or led themselves to and however catastrophic their lot that last weekend in August 2005, these soul survivors radiate a faith that is deep, sustaining and perennially, impossibly hopeful. They don't pick fights with the police, soldiers and bureaucrats who were AWOL during the storm and who offer little help after it. Kim and Scott are unfailingly courteous. They believe that when disaster strikes, everyone's a victim.

And Lessin and Deal know that the best documentaries reveal politics through personalities. In the gritty, buoyant Kim they found a person who symbolized both the lower depths of urban life and the resilience, when faced with an impossible challenge, to rise to a level higher than flood tide. Maybe Kim, Scott and their crew were no angels before Katrina, but that doesn't matter—because in *Trouble the Water*, we see the lives of the saints. ■

**As the waters rise, Kim and Scott act as a citizens' National Guard, a more caring and effective FEMA**

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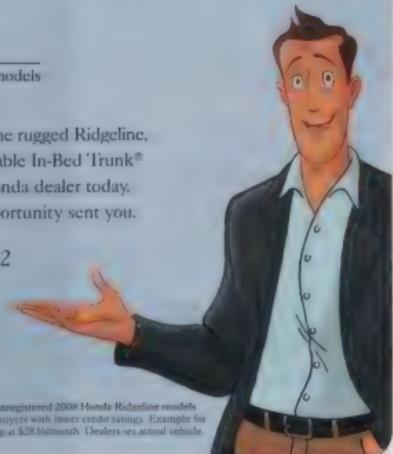
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# How American Voters Decide



HOW AMERICA DECIDES is an election-year survey by TIME,<sup>\*</sup> looking at how voters decide on a candidate.

Is it a gut reaction, an emotional response to a candidate who makes them feel proud or angry?

Are voters more interested in character traits like leadership and sincerity?

Or, are voters more interested in policy positions that match their own?

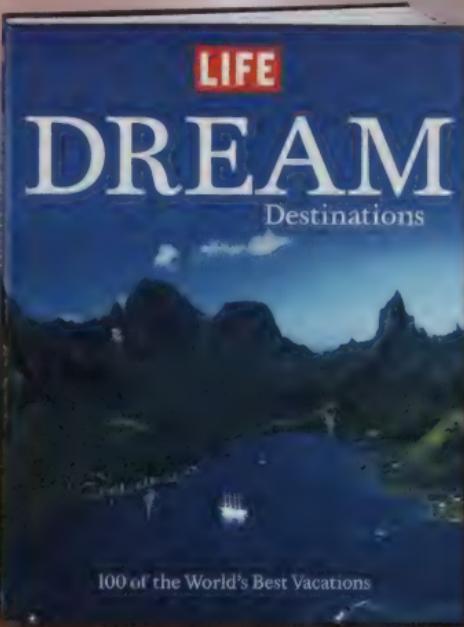
Look for this ongoing feature in TIME, or check it out at [time.com/HowAmericaDecides](http://time.com/HowAmericaDecides)

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when you're not listening to music, you can slip into a tranquil haven — where you can relax and enjoy peace and solitude. Clearly, these are no ordinary headphones. It's no exaggeration to say they're one of those things you have to experience to believe.

"It's as if someone behind your back reached out, found the volume control for the world, and turned it way, way, down," reports *TechnologyReview.com*. Bose QC®2 headphones incorporate patented technology that electronically identifies and dramatically reduces noise, while faithfully preserving the music, movie dialogue or tranquility you desire. We designed these headphones primarily for airplane travelers. But owners soon started telling us how much they enjoy using them in other places to reduce distractions around them. They're excellent for listening to music whether you're on the go, at home or in the office.

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# Downtime



## 5 Things You Should Know About. *Hamlet*, the musical; *Medellín* dreams; and a Pasolini classic

### MOVIES

**Death Race** Written and directed by Paul W.S. Anderson; rated R; out now  
Cars, cons, guns and girls: that's how to write *finis* to an action-movie summer. In this more violent, less anarchic remake of the 1975 *Death Race 2050*, Jason Statham is the star driver for evil warden Joan Allen. We like the industrial-brutalist look of the film and its flair for gaudy carnage. But in one way, this is like *Hamlet 2*: the original was better. **B**



**Hamlet 2** Directed by Andrew Fleming; rated R; out now  
A failed actor (Steve Coogan, in a turn that's both precise and grotesque) tries to mount a sci-fi musical sequel to *Hamlet*. Ostensibly satirizing high school inspirational movies, this ragged comedy lines up all the objects of scorn, then cops out with a rousing finish. It's typical of showbiz parodies that *Hamlet 2* finally becomes what it purports to mock. **C+**

### DVDs

**Salò or the 120 Days of Sodom** Directed by Pier Paolo Pasolini; unrated; out Aug. 26  
At the end of Mussolini's reign, four Fascists take pleasure in subjecting young villagers to the worst sexual degradation. Criterion has reissued this grim, notorious film—the last work of the gay Marxist poet and director—in a classy two-disc set, a death skull grinning from the box. **A-**



**Entourage** The Complete Fourth Season; out Aug. 26  
Movie idol Vince Chase (Adrian Grenier) hits a career speed bump, and so does this HBO comedy. While Vince and his bros await the editing of his epic flick *Medellín*, the show dithers and seems bored with itself. Here's hoping the upcoming season gives them better material. **C+**



### TELEVISION

**The Black List** HBO; Aug. 25; 9 p.m. E.T.  
This spare film collects 22 black celebrities' insights as told to critic Elvis Mitchell—from Toni Morrison (*left*) on how her race liberated her as a writer to Chris Rock on his dad's theory about competing with white people: "If you have six and the white guy has five, he wins." **B+**



Vyvanse is indicated for the treatment of ADHD. Efficacy based on two controlled trials in children aged 6 to 12 and one controlled trial in adults.

Tell the doctor about any heart conditions, including structural abnormalities, that you, your child, or a family member, may have. Inform the doctor **immediately** if you or your child develops symptoms that suggest heart problems, such as chest pain or fainting.

Vyvanse should not be taken if you or your child has advanced disease of the blood vessels (arteriosclerosis); symptomatic heart disease; moderate to severe high blood pressure; overactive thyroid gland (hyperthyroidism); known allergy or unusual reactions to drugs called sympathomimetic amines (for example, pseudoephedrine); seizures; glaucoma; a history of problems with alcohol or drugs; agitated states; taken a monoamine oxidase inhibitor (MAOI) within the last 14 days.

Tell the doctor **before** taking Vyvanse if you or your child is being treated for or has symptoms of depression (sadness, worthlessness, or hopelessness) or bipolar disorder; has abnormal thought or visions, hears abnormal sounds, or has been diagnosed with psychosis; has had seizures or abnormal EEGs; has or has had high blood pressure; exhibits aggressive behavior or hostility. Tell the doctor **immediately** if you or your child develops any of these conditions or symptoms while taking Vyvanse.

Abuse of amphetamines may lead to dependence. Misuse of amphetamine may cause sudden death and serious cardiovascular adverse events. These events have also been reported rarely with amphetamine use.

Vyvanse was generally well tolerated in clinical studies. The most common side effects reported in studies of Vyvanse were: *children*—decreased appetite, difficulty falling asleep, stomachache, and irritability; *adult*—decreased appetite, difficulty falling asleep, and dry mouth.

Aggression, new abnormal thoughts/behaviors, mania, growth suppression, worsening of motion or verbal tics, and Tourette's syndrome have been associated with use of drugs of this type. Tell the doctor if you or your child has blurred vision while taking Vyvanse.

Please see Brief Summary of Full Prescribing Information on the following page.

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## MEDICATION GUIDE

VYVANSE™

(lisdexamfetamine dimesylate) CII

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Vyvanse before you or your child starts taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about you or your child's treatment with Vyvanse.

### What is the most important information I should know about Vyvanse?

Vyvanse is a stimulant medicine. The following have been reported with use of stimulant medicines:

#### 1. Heart-related problems:

- sudden death in patients who have heart problems or heart defects
- stroke and heart attack in adults
- increased blood pressure and heart rate

Tell your doctor if you or your child have any heart problems, heart defects, high blood pressure, or a family history of these problems.

Your doctor should check you or your child carefully for heart problems before starting Vyvanse.

Your doctor should check you or your child's blood pressure and heart rate regularly during treatment with Vyvanse.

Call your doctor right away if you or your child has any signs of heart problems such as chest pain, shortness of breath, or fainting while taking Vyvanse.

#### 2. Mental (Psychiatric) problems:

##### All Patients

- new or worse behavior and thought problems
- new or worse bipolar illness
- new or worse aggressive behavior or hostility

##### Children and Teenagers

- new psychotic symptoms (such as hearing voices, believing things that are not true, are suspicious) or new manic symptoms

Tell your doctor about any mental problems you or your child have, or about a family history of suicide, bipolar illness, or depression.

Call your doctor right away if you or your child have any new or worsening mental symptoms or problems while taking Vyvanse, especially seeing or hearing things that are not real, believing things that are not real, or are suspicious.

### What is Vyvanse?

Vyvanse is a central nervous system stimulant prescription medicine. It is used for the treatment of Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Vyvanse may help increase attention and decrease impulsiveness and hyperactivity in patients with ADHD.

Vyvanse should be used as a part of a total treatment program for ADHD that may include counseling or other therapies.

**Vyvanse is a federally controlled substance (CII) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep Vyvanse in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away Vyvanse may harm others, and is against the law.**

Tell your doctor if you or your child have (or have a family history of) ever abused or been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

### Who should not take Vyvanse?

**Vyvanse should not be taken if you or your child:**

- have heart disease or hardening of the arteries
- have moderate to severe high blood pressure
- have hyperthyroidism
- have an eye problem called glaucoma
- are very anxious, tense, or agitated
- have a history of drug abuse
- are taking or have taken within the past 14 days an anti-depression medicine called a monoamine oxidase inhibitor or MAOI
- is sensitive to, allergic to, or had a reaction to other stimulant medicines

Vyvanse has not been studied in children less than 6 years old. Vyvanse is not recommended for use in children less than 3 years old.

**Vyvanse may not be right for you or your child. Before starting Vyvanse tell your or your child's doctor about all health conditions (or a family history of) including:**

- heart problems, heart defects, high blood pressure
- mental problems including psychosis, mania, bipolar illness, or depression
- tics or Tourette's syndrome
- liver or kidney problems
- thyroid problems
- seizures or have had an abnormal brain wave test (EEG)

Tell your doctor if you or your child is pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding.

### Can Vyvanse be taken with other medicines?

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines that you or your child take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Vyvanse and some medicines may interact with each other and cause serious side effects. Sometimes the doses of other medicines will need to be adjusted while taking Vyvanse.

Your doctor will decide whether Vyvanse can be taken with other medicines.

### Especially tell your doctor if you or your child takes:

- anti-depression medicines including MAOIs
- anti-psychotic medicines
- lithium
- blood pressure medicines
- seizure medicines
- narcotic pain medicines

Know the medicines that you or your child takes. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist.

**Do not start any new medicine while taking Vyvanse without talking to your doctor first.**

### How should Vyvanse be taken?

- Take Vyvanse exactly as prescribed. Vyvanse comes in 6 different strength capsules. Your doctor may adjust the dose until it is right for you or your child.
- Take Vyvanse once a day in the morning.
- Vyvanse can be taken with or without food.
- From time to time, your doctor may stop Vyvanse treatment for a while to check ADHD symptoms.
- Your doctor may do regular checks of the blood, heart, and blood pressure while taking Vyvanse. Children should have their height and weight checked often while taking Vyvanse. Vyvanse treatment may be stopped if a problem is found during these check-ups.
- If you or your child takes too much Vyvanse or overdoses, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

### What are possible side effects of Vyvanse?

See "What is the most important information I should know about Vyvanse?" for information on reported heart and mental problems.

### Other serious side effects include:

- slowing of growth (height and weight) in children
- seizures, mainly in patients with a history of seizures
- eyesight changes or blurred vision

### Common side effects include:

• upper belly pain	• nausea	• dry mouth
• dizziness	• weight loss	• trouble sleeping
• irritability	• decreased appetite	• vomiting

Vyvanse may affect your or your child's ability to drive or do other dangerous activities.

Talk to your doctor if you or your child has side effects that are bothersome or do not go away.

This is not a complete list of possible side effects. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

### How should I store Vyvanse?

- Store Vyvanse in a safe place at room temperature, 59 to 86°F (15 to 30°C). Protect from light.

### • Keep Vyvanse and all medicines out of the reach of children.

### General information about Vyvanse

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use Vyvanse for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Vyvanse to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Vyvanse. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Vyvanse that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information about Vyvanse, please contact Shire US Inc. at 1-800-828-2088.

### What are the ingredients in Vyvanse?

**Active Ingredient:** lisdexamfetamine dimesylate

**Inactive Ingredients:** microcrystalline cellulose, croscarmellose sodium, and magnesium stearate. The capsule shells contain gelatin, titanium dioxide, and one or more of the following: D&C Red #28, D&C Yellow #10, FD&C Blue #1, FD&C Green #3, and FD&C Red #40.

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

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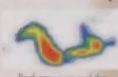
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\*Descriptions of the clinical studies are available at 1-800-431-2121. It excludes return shipping fees, returns or exchanges on the Sleep Number Select® system, PrestigeComfort® Adjustable Foundation, Custom Service® or Home Delivery & Setup fee, chosen or demo bed models. Financing rates from \$100-\$120 by bed model and size. 36-month financing with minimum monthly payment on all Sleep Number beds with Apple only to purchases made on a Select Comfort Customer Credit Card Account. On prime purchases, minimum monthly payments and no finance charge must be paid in full after 36 months. (2) any minimum monthly payment on account must be paid in full each month. Otherwise, finance charges will be applied and finance charges will be applied to purchases made on the credit card account. Interest may be charged on purchases made on the credit card account, even if you have a balance on the bed purchased. If you have a balance on the bed purchased, the credit card account will be charged interest on the balance. If you have a balance on the credit card account and on purchases made on the credit card account, please call Customer Service. Standard terms apply to non-prime purchases, optional charges and existing accounts. As of August 1, 2008, variable APR is 22.98%; and an off balance rate of default is 28.99%. Minimum Finance Charge \$1.50. Subject to approval by GE Money Bank. Restrictions may apply. See store for details.

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Nancy

# Gibbs

## Lessons from the Spirit World. Why McCain and Obama should visit Lily Dale

WHERE DO YOU GO TO GET YOUR VISION CORRECTED, your crystal ball polished? I figured August offered one last chance to check the instruments before the campaign homestretch. And in an election year haunted by all kinds of ghosts, I thought I'd check in with the people who talk to the dead all the time—just to get a different feel for the spirits that move us.

A hundred years ago, the *New York Times* described the Lily Dale Assembly, a gated compound in far western New York State, as "the most famous and aristocratic spiritualistic camp in America." Freethinking, forward-leaning, this was a place for prophets of all kinds. Susan B. Anthony visited half a dozen times; Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt came, and Harry Houdini and Mae West, and seekers from around the world looking to explore the continuity between life and what locals refer to as "so-called death."

A company town of old oaks and Victorian gingerbread, Lily Dale specializes in building bridges to the Beyond. You can't buy a house here unless you are a practicing spiritualist. But anyone can stay in the Maplewood Hotel, which might be the perfect place for political junkies to detox. There are no TVs, no phones in the rooms. A sign is posted in the lobby: NO READINGS, HEALINGS, CIRCLES OR SÉANCES IN THIS AREA, PLEASE. This is the place to come if you're sick of the mainstream mediums.

"There are no strangers here," residents will tell you, just friendly souls who missed you the first time around. Days are filled with classes and lectures exploring the far corners of the otherworldly: Spoon Bending, Mask Making (in the past seven elections, the candidate with the best-selling Halloween mask has won), Past-Life Regression, Alien Abduction Case Histories. I missed the Astrology Roundtable, which explored how the transit of Pluto into Capricorn—occurring once every 248 years—affects me, the nation and the world.

The Crystal Cove Gift Shop offers all kinds of relief from the campaign trail. There are handy guidebooks like *The Beginner's Guide for the Recently Deceased*—and trays of polished stones. Ametrine, perfect for prospective running mates, "releases tension, improves compatibility" while jasper promotes "harmony and global awareness." Ron Nagy, a historian and researcher at the local museum, leads Wednesday-evening Ghostwalks to

help people learn to spot the spirits around them. I asked him about the mood of the country. He thinks that "if Obama wins, people will be scared to death, because he doesn't have much experience." But to that challenge, Lily Dale offers an answer, which essentially comes down to better communication. "We believe spirit is always available if called to help," explains Lelia Cutler, a medium who serves as president of the National Spiritualist Association of Churches. She'd advise politicians to recruit their role models as advisers. "Say you're going to have a vote in Congress on a key bill on Social Security; wouldn't you think Franklin Roosevelt would be interested in what happens? Wouldn't you think Eisenhower would come and help with decisions having to do with the war?" she says. And she's just warming up. "I'd think Lincoln would be very interested in how all this plays out. I think he'd want to bring the country together, as he did in the Civil War. It was gray and blue then. It's red and blue now."

To believers, this town is hallowed ground; to skeptics, it's an amusement park. But

whatever you expect to find here, Lily Dale offers a chastening lesson. I chatted with Ron Ehmke at the Good Vibrations Café; he's here celebrating his 48th birthday. He considers himself an open-minded skeptic, and he thinks America's mood right now is "pretty apocalyptic." But he hasn't come here looking for comfort. He's "come to be challenged by things that defy rationality—kind of like this campaign has defied rationality."

When the medium finished Ehmke's reading, she offered a blanket disclaimer: Bear in mind, she told him, that all of this can change because you have free will. Ehmke thinks there's a lesson there. "What worries me most is when politicians talk about their sense of destiny. I don't think there's some great Book of Life that foretells all things, and people—especially politicians—who think there is one tend to want to write that book themselves."

When certified clairvoyants operate on the premise that, whatever they may foresee, anything can still happen, the rest of us in the prediction business might try to find a little humility. The injunction not to try to write the end of the story applies to us as well; this fateful passage can't be polled, can't be foretold. We'll just have to wait, until the answers come to us.





**140° heat, 95% humidity and it hasn't even broken a sweat.**



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# Nearly one third of teens admit to texting while driving.



SOME OF THEM WILL NEVER BE HEARD FROM AGAIN.



Car crashes are the leading cause of death among American teens. **Is any text message worth that risk?**

A recent survey showed that teens consider texting while driving to be extremely distracting. Texting not only takes their minds off the road but also takes their hands off the wheel.

#### Allstate has a few ideas to help curb the epidemic:

##### USE THE LAW.

Support state legislation banning digital distractions. The State of California has now banned anyone under the age of 18 from using cell phones, laptop computers, pagers or any text-messaging device while driving.

##### STRENGTHEN GRADUATED DRIVER

##### LICENSING (GDL) LAWS.

GDL laws put limitations on teen driving so kids can gain experience safely. Since North Carolina

implemented one of the most comprehensive GDL laws in the country, it has seen a 25% decline in crashes involving 16-year-olds.

##### HAVE THE DRIVING TALK.

75% of teens surveyed said their parents would be the best influence in getting them to drive more safely. The Allstate Parent-Teen Driving Contract can help start the conversation. **Contact an Allstate Agent to get a copy or visit Allstate.com/teen for the interactive contract.**

Let's help teens realize the importance of giving the road their undivided attention.

*It's time to make the world a safer place to drive.  
THAT'S ALLSTATE'S STAND*



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